John Carter Brown.

BOUND BY HERING
9 NEWMAN ST

919 Drake. Sir Francis Drake Reuiued: calling upon this dull or effeminate Age to follow his Noble steps for Gold and Siluer, &c. &c. set forth by Sir Francis Drake, Baronet (his Nephew) now living, *title, with vignette portrait, two dedications and address*

calf extra, g.e. *London, for N. Bourne,* 1628

*** This very rare edition, unnoticed by Lowndes, must be considered in many respects superior to that of 1626, having had the advantage of the incorporation of the Errata of the latter date under the personal superintendance of the Nephew of the great Voyager. It possesses the intended Dedication to Q. Elizabeth, and that to Charles I. both omitted in the Edition of 1653. The last 4 leaves being of larger size than the rest of the book, have been cut into but repaired, in fac-simile, from the nearly unique copy in the Grenville collection, the margins of title and some other leaves where the dates were shaved being also restored.

This Copy wants very perfect.

& the 4 last leaves mis-joined.

& containing the Two Dedications & the Address.

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Sir Francis Drake Reuiued:

Calling vpon this Dull or Effeminate Age, to follow his Noble steps for Gold and Siluer.

By this Memorable Relation, of the Rare occurrences (neuer yet declared to the World) in a third Voyage, made by him into the West-Indies, in the yeeres 72. and 73. when *Nombre de Dios* was by him and fiftie two others onely in his Companie surprised.

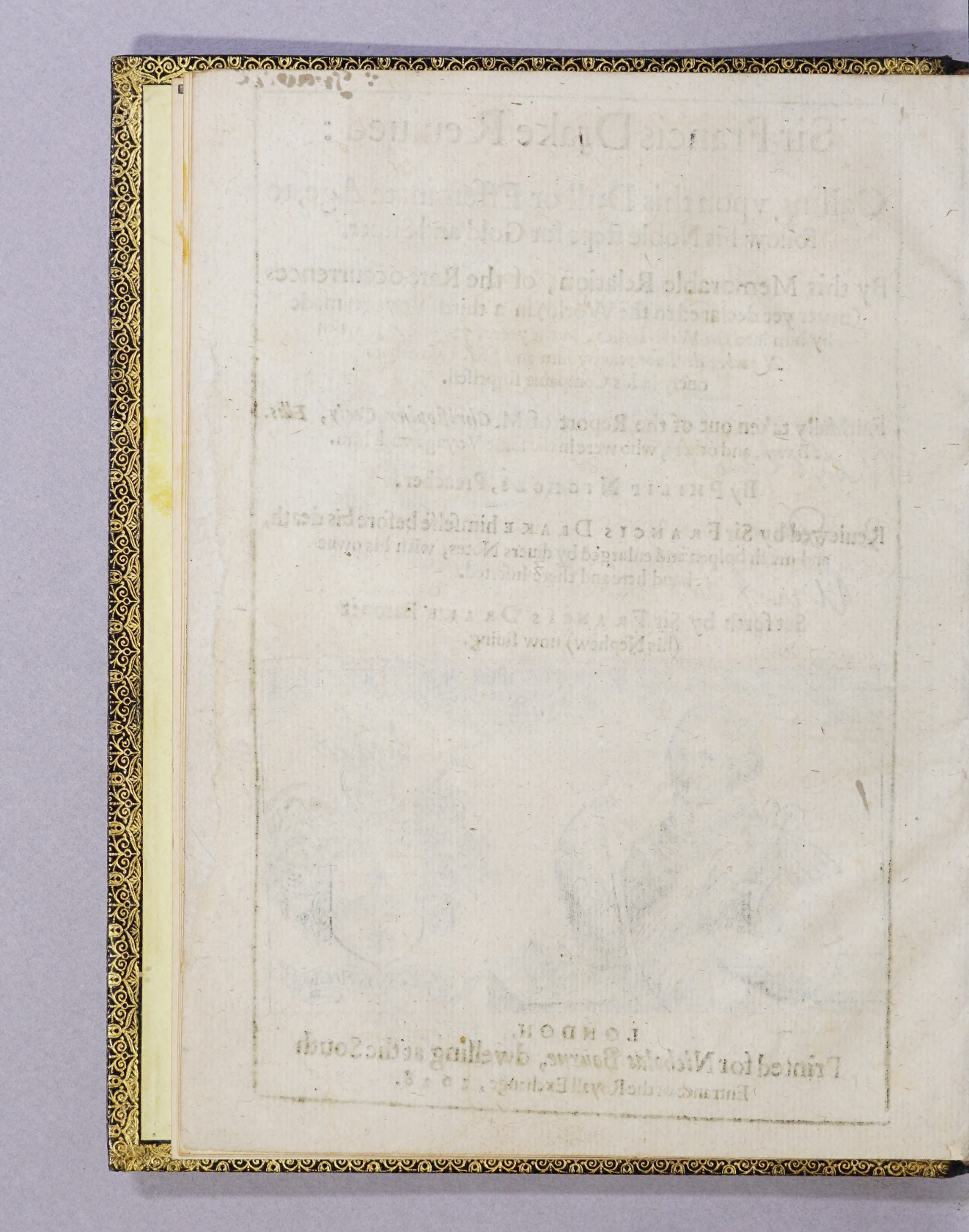
Faithfully taken out of the Report of M. *Christopher Ceely*, *Ellis. Hixom*, and others, who were in the same Voyage with him.

By PHILIP NICHOLS, Preacher.

Reuiewed by Sir FRANCIS DRAKE himselfe before his death, and much holpen and enlarged by diuers Notes, with his owne hand here and there Inserted.

Set forth by Sir FRANCIS DRAKE Baronet (his Nephew) now liuing.

LONDON,
Printed for *Nicholas Bourne*, dwelling at the South Entrance of the Royall Exchange, 1628.



JOHN CARTER BROWN

TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTIE, *CHARLES* THE FIRST,

Of Great Britaine, France and Ireland King: All the bleſſings of this, and a better Life.

Moſt gracious Soueraigne:

THat this briefe Treatiſe is yours, both by right and by ſucceſſion, will appeare by the Authors and Actors enſuing Dedication. To praiſe either the Miſtris or the Seruant, might iuſtly incurre the cenſure of Quis eos vnquam ſanus vituperauit, *eithers worth hauing ſufficiently blazed their fame.*

This Present looseth nothing, by glancing on former Actions, and the obseruation of passed aduentures, may probably aduantage future imployments. Cæsar *wrote his owne Commentaries; and this doeer was partly the Inditor: Neither is there wanting liuing testimonie to confirme its truth. For his sake then, cherish what is good, and I shall willingly entertaine checke for what is amisse. Your fauourable acceptance, may incourage my Collecting of more neglected Noates: how-euer thought Vertue (as Lands) be not inheritable, yet hath he left of his Name, one that resolues and therein joyes to approue him-selfe*

Your most humble

and loyall Subiect,

FRANCIS DRAKE.

The Dedicatorie Epistle intended to Q. ELIZABETH,
Written by Sir *Francis Drake*, Deceased.

TO

THE QVEENES MOST Excellent Maiestie, my most *dread Soueraigne*.

MAdam, seeing diuers haue diuersly reported, and written, of these Voyages and Actions which I haue attempted & made, euerie one endeauoring to bring to light, whatsoeuer inklings or coniectures they haue had; whereby many vntruths haue beene published, and the certain truth concealed: as I haue thought it necessarie my selfe, as in a *Card* to pricke the principall points of the Counsailes taken, attempts made, and successe had, during the whole course of my employment in these seruices against the *Spaniards*, not as setting Sayle, for maintaining my reputation in mens iudgement, but only as sitting at Helme if occasion shall be, for conducting the like

like Actions hereafter: So I haue accounted it my duetie, to present this Discourse to your Maiestie as of right, either for it selfe, being the first fruites of your seruants Pen, or for the matter, being seruice done to your Maiestie by your poore vassall against your great Enemie, at such times, in such places, and after such sort, as may seeme strange to those, that are not acquainted with the whole carriage thereof: but will be a pleasing remembrance to your Highnesse, who take the apparent height of the Almighties fauour towards you, by these euents, as truest instruments, humbly submitting my selfe to your Gracious censure, both in writing and presenting: that posteritie be not depriued of such helpe, as may happily be gained hereby, and our present Age (at least) may be satisfied, in the rightfulnesse of these Actions, which hitherto haue beene silenced, and your Seruants labour not seeme altogether lost, not onely in Trauell by Sea and Land, but also in writing the Report thereof, a worke to him no lesse troublesome, yet made pleasant and sweete, in that it hath beene, is and shall bee, for your Maiesties content; to whom I haue deuoted my selfe, liue or die.

FRANCIS DRAKE.

Ian. 1. 1592.

To the courteous Reader.

HOneſt Reader, without Apologie, I deſire thee in this inſuing Diſcourſe, to obſerue with me the power and Iuſtice of the Lord of Hoſtes, who could enable ſo meane a Perſon, to right himſelfe vpon ſo mightie a Prince, together with the goodneſſe and Prouidence of God very obſerueable, in that it pleaſed him to raiſe this man, not onely from a low condition, but euen from the ſtate of Perſecution: his Father ſuffered in it, being forced to flye from his Houſe (neere South Tauiſtocke in Deuon) into Kent, and there to inhabit in the Hull of a Ship, wherein many of his yonger Sonnes were borne: he had twelue in all, and as it pleaſed God to giue moſt of them a being vpon the Water, ſo the greateſt part of them dyed at Sea: the yongeſt, who though he were as farre as any, yet dyed at home, whoſe poſteritie inherites that, which by himſelfe, and this Noble Gentleman the eldeſt Brother, was hardly yet worthily gotten. I could more largely acquaint thee, that this Voyage was his third he made into the Weſt-Indies, after that his excellent ſeruice both by Sea and Land in Ireland, vnder

Walter

Walter *Earle of* Essex, *his next about the World: Another wherein he tooke Saint* Iago, Carthagena, *Saint* Domingo, *Saint* Augustino, *his doings at* Cadiz, *besides the first Carricke taught by him to Sayle into England, his stirrings in Eightie seuen, his remarkable Actions in Eightie eight, his endeauours in the* Portugall *imployment, his last enterprise determined by death, and his filling* Plimouth *with a plentifull streame of fresh water; but I passe by all these, I had rather thou shouldest enquire of others, then to seeme my selfe a vaine-glorious man. I intend not his praise, I striue onely to set out the praise of his and our good God, that guided him in his truth, and protected him in his courses: my ends are to stirre thee vp to the worship of God, and seruice of our King and Countrey by his example: if any thing be worth thy consideration, conclude with me, that the Lord onely can doe great things.*

Francis Drake.

SIR *FRANCIS DRAKE* REVIVED.

Calling vpon this Dull or Effeminate Age, to follow his Noble Steps for Gold and Siluer.

AS there is a generall vengeance, which secretly pursueth the doers of wrong, and suffereth them not to prosper, albeit no man of purpose empeach them: so is there a particular indignation, engraffed in the bosome of all that are wronged, which ceaseth not seeking by all meanes possible to redresse or remedie the wrong receiued. In so much as those great and mightie men, in whom their prosperous estate hath bred such an ouer-weening of themselues, that they doe not onely wrong their inferiours, but despise them being injured; seeme to take a verie vnfit course for their own safetie, and farre vnfitter for their rest. For as *Æsope* teacheth, euen the Fly hath her spleene, and the Emmet is not without her choller, and both together many times finde

meanes whereby though the Eagle lay her egges in Iupiters lap, yet by one way or other, ſhe eſcapeth not requitall of her wrong done the Emmet.

Among the manifold examples hereof, which former ages haue committed to memorie, or our time yeelded to ſight: I ſuppoſe, there hath not beene any, more notable then this in hand: either in reſpect of the greatneſſe of the perſon, by whom the firſt iniury was offered; or the meaneſſe of him, who righteth himſelf: the one being (in his owne conceit) the mightieſt Monarch of all the world: the other an Engliſh Captaine, a meane ſubiect of her Maieſties. Who (beſides the wrongs receiued at *Rio de Hacha* with Captaine *Iohn Lonell* in the yeares 65. and 66.) hauing beene greiuouſly indamaged at Saint *Iohn de Vllua* in the bay of *Mexico*, with Captaine *Iohn Hawkins*, in the yeares 67. and 68. not onely in the loſſe of his goods of ſome value, but alſo of his kinſmen and & friends, and that by the falſhood of *Don Martin Henriquez* then the viceroy of *Mexico*, and finding that no recompence could bee recouered out of *Spaine*, by any of his owne meanes, or by her Maieſties letters: hee vſed ſuch helpes as hee might, by two ſeuerall voiages into the Weſt Indies: the firſt with two Ships, the one called the Dragon, the other the Swan, in the yeare 70. the other in the Swan alone in the yeare 71. to gaine ſuch intelligences, as might further him, to get ſome amends for his loſſe. And hauing, in thoſe two voiages, gotten ſuch certaine notice of the perſons & places aimed at, as he thought requiſite, and there vppon with good deliberation reſolued on a third voyage (the deſcription whereof we haue now in hand) hee accordingly prepared his ſhips and Company, and then taking the firſt opportunitie of a good winde. had ſuch ſucceſſe in his proceedings, as now followes farther to be declared.

May 24. 1572. On Whitſunday Eue being the 24. of May in the yeare 1572. Captaine *Drake* in the *Paſcha* of *Plimouth* of 70 tonnes his

his Admirall, with the *Swan* of the same Port of 25 tonnes his Vice-Admirall, in which his brother *Iohn Drake* was Captaine (hauing in both of them of men and boyes seauenty three, all voluntarily assembled, of which the eldest was fifty, all the rest vnder thirty: so diuided that there were forty seauen in one ship, and twenty six in the other: both richly furnished, with victualles and apparell for a whole yeare: and no lesse heedfully prouided of all manner of munition, Artillery, Artificers, stuffe and tooles, that were requisite for such a Man of warre in such an attempt, but especially hauing three dainty Pinnases, made in *Plimouth*, taken a sunder all in peeces and stowed aboard, to be set vp as occasion serued:) set sayle from out of the Sound of *Plimouth*, with intent to land at *Nombre de Dios*.

The wind continued prosperous and fauorable at North-east, and gaue vs a very good passage, without any alteration or change: so that albeit we had sight of *Porto Santo* one of the *Maderas*, and of the *Canaries* also within twelue dayes of our setting forth: yet we neuer strooke sayle, nor came to anchor, nor made any stay for any cause, neither there nor elsewhere, vntill 25. dayes after; When we had sight of the Iland of *Guadalupe*, one of the Ilands of the West Indies, goodly high land. *Iune* 3. *Iune* 28.

The next morning we entred between *Dominica* & *Guadalupe*, where we descried two canoas, comming from a rocky Iland, three leagues off *Dominica*, which vsually repayre thither to fish, by reason of the great plenty thereof, which is there continually to be found. We landed on the South side of it, remaining there three daies to refresh our men, and water our ships, out of one of those goodly riuers, which fall downe off the mountaine. There wee saw certaine poore cottages built with Palmito boughs and branches, but no inhabitants at that time ciuill nor sauage; the cottages it may be, (for we could know no certaine cause of the solitarinesse *Iune* 29.

rineſſe we found there) ſeruing, not for continuall inhabitation, but onely for their vſes that came to that place at certaine ſeaſons to fiſh.

July 1. The third day after, about three in the after-noone, wee ſet ſaile from thence, towards the Continent of *Terra firma*. And the fifth day after, wee had ſight of the high land of

July 6. *Santa Martha*, but came not neere the ſhoare by ten leagues. But thence directed our courſe, for a place called by vs *Port Pheſant*, for that our Captaine had ſo named it in his former voyage, by reaſon of the great ſtore of thoſe goodly Fowles, which he and his Company did then daily kill, and feed on, in that place. In this courſe, notwithſtanding wee had two

July 12. dayes calme, yet within ſix dayes we arriued at our *Port Pheſant*, which is a fine round Bay, of verie ſafe harbour for all winds, lying betweene two high points, not paſt halfe a cables length ouer at the mouth, but within, eight or ten cables length euerie way, hauing ten or twelue fadome water, more or leſſe, full of good fiſh, the ſoile alſo verie fruitfull; which may appeare by this, that our Captaine hauing been in this place, within a yeere and few dayes before, and hauing rid the place with many alleyes and paths made, yet now all was ſo ouergrowne againe, as that wee doubted at firſt, whether this were the ſame place or no.

At our entrance into this Bay, our Captaine hauing giuen order to his brother what to doe, if any occaſion ſhould happen in his abſence, was on his way, with intent to haue gone aland, with ſome few only in his company, becauſe hee knew there dwelt no Spanyards within thirtie fiue leagues of that place. *Tolou* being the neereſt to the Eaſtwards, and *Nombre de Dios* to the weſtwards, where any of that Nation dwelt. But as we were rowing a ſhoare, we ſaw a ſmoake in the woods, euen neere the place, which our Captaine had aforetime frequented: therefore thinking it fit to take more ſtrength with vs, he cauſed his other boat alſo to be

be manned with certaine muskets, and other weapons, ſuſpecting ſome enemie had beene a ſhoare.

When wee landed, wee found by euident markes, that there had beene lately there, a certaine Engliſh man of *Plimouth*, called *Iohn Garret*, who beene conducted thither by certaine Engliſh Mariners, which had beene there with our Captaine in ſome of his former voyages. He had now left a plate of Lead, nailed faſt to a mightie great tree (greater then any foure men, ioyning hands, could fathome about;) on which were engrauen theſe words, directed to our Captaine.

CAptaine Drake, *if you fortune to come to this Port, make haſt away: For the Spaniards, which you had with you here the laſt yeere, haue bewrayed this place, and taken away all that you left here. I departed from hence, this preſent 7. of Iuly*, 1572.

Your verie louing friend
IOHN GARRET.

The ſmoake which wee ſaw, was occaſioned by a fire, which the ſaid *Garret* and his Companie, had made before their departure, in a very great tree (not farre from this which had the lead nayled on it) which had continued burning at leaſt fiue dayes before our arriuall.

This aduertiſement notwithſtanding, our Captaine meant not to depart, before he had built his Pinnaſes, which were yet aboard in peices, for which purpoſe he knew this Port, a moſt conuenient place. And therefore aſſoone as we had mored our Ships, our Captaine commanded his Pinnaſes to be brought aſhore, for the Carpenters to ſet vp, himſelfe employing all his other companie in fortifying a place, which he had choſen out as a moſt fit plot, of three quarters

ters of an acre of ground, to make some strength or safetie for the present, as sufficiently as the meanes he had would affoord, which was performed, by felling of great trees, and bowsing and haling them together with great Pulleis and halsers, vntill they they were inclosed to the waters, and then letting others fall vpon them, vntill they had raised with trees and boughes thirtie foote in height round about, leauing onely one gate to issue at neere the waters side, which euery night (that we might sleepe in more safetie and securitie) was shut vp, with a great tree drawne athwart it. The whole plot was built in a Pentagonall forme, to wit, of fiue equall sides and angles, of which angles two were towards the sea, and that side betweene them was left open, for the easie launcing of our Pinnases: the other foure equall sides were cholely (excepting the gate before mentioned) firmely closed vp. Without, insteed of a trench, the ground was tid for fiftie foote space, round about. The rest was verie thicke with trees, of which many were of those kindes, which are neuer without greene leaues, till they are dead at the roote (excepting onely one kinde of tree amongst them, much like to our Ash, which when the sunne commeth right ouer them, causing great raines, suddainely casteth all their leaues, *viz.* within three dayes, and yet within sixe dayes after becomes all greene againe. The leaues of the other trees do also in part fal away, but so as the trees continue still greene notwithstanding) being of a maruelous height, and supported as it were with fiue or sixe naturall buttresses growing out of their bodies, so farre, that three men may so be hidden in each of them, that they which shall stand in the verie next buttresse shall not be able to see them. One of them specially was marked to haue had seauen of those staies or buttresses, for the supporting of his greatnesse and height, which being measured with a line close by the barke and neere to the ground, as it

was

was indented or extant, was found to be aboue thirtie nine yards about. The wood of thoſe trees, is as heauie or heauier then *Braſil* or *Lignum vitæ*, and is in colour white.

The next day after we had arriued, there came alſo into that bay, an Engliſh Barke of the Ile of *Wight*, of Sir *Edward Horſeyes*, wherein *Iames Rawſe* was Captaine and *Iohn Ouery* Maſter, with thirtie men; of which, ſome had beene with our Captaine in the ſame place the yeere before. They brought in with them a *Spaniſh* Caruell of *Siuell* (which he had taken the day before, athwart of that place, being a Caruell of *Adaiſo* bound for *Nombre de Dios*) and alſo one Shallop with Oares, which he had taken at Cape *Blancke*. This Captaine *Rawſe* vnderſtanding our Captaines purpoſe, was deſirous to ioyne in conſort with him, and was receiued vpon conditions agreed on betweene them. *July* 13.

Within ſeuen dayes after his comming, hauing ſet vp our Pinnaces, and diſpatched alll our buſineſſe, in prouiding all things neceſſarie, out of our ſhips into our Pinnaces: wee departed from that harbrough, ſetting ſayle in the morning towards *Nombre de Dios*, continuing our courſe till wee came to the Iles of *Pinos*: where being within three dayes arriued, we found two Fregates of *Nombre de Dios*, lading plancke and timber from thence. *July* 20.

The Negroes which were in thoſe Fregates, gaue vs ſome particular vnderſtanding of the preſent ſtate of the towne: and beſides, told vs that they had heard a report, that certaine ſouldiers, ſhould come thither ſhortly, and were daily looked for, from the Gouernor of *Panama*, and the countrey there about, to defend the towne againſt the *Symerons* (A blacke people, which about eightie yeeres paſt, fled from the *Spaniards* their Maſters, by reaſon of their crueltie, and are ſince growne to an nation, vnder two Kings of their owne: the one inhabiteth to the Weſt, th'other to the Eaſt of the way frō *Nombre de Dios* to *Panama*) which had neere ſurpriſed it about ſixe weekes before. *July* 22.

Our

Our Captaine willing to vſe thoſe Negroes well (not hurting himſelfe) ſet them a ſhoare vpon the maine, that they might perhaps ioyne themſelues to their countrimen the *Symerons*, and gaine their libertie if they would, or if they would not, yet by reaſon of the length and troubleſomeneſſe of the way by land to *Nombre de Dios*, he might preuent any notice of his comming, which they ſhould be able to giue. For hee was loath to put the towne to too much charge (which hee knew they would willingly beſtow) in prouiding before hand, for his entertainement, and therefore he haſtened his going thither, with as much ſpeed and ſecrecie as poſſibly he could.

To this end, diſpoſing of all his companies, according as they inclined moſt, he left the three Ships and the Caruell with Captaine *Rauſe*, and choſe into his foure Pinnaces (Captaine *Rauſes* Shallop made the fourth) beſides fiftie three of our men, twentie more of Captaine *Rauſes* companie, with which he ſeemed competently furniſhed, to atchieue what he intended: eſpecially hauing proportioned, according to his owne purpoſe, and our mens diſpoſition, their ſeuerall armes. *viz.* ſixe Targets, ſixe Firepikes, twelue Pikes, twentie foure Muskets and Calliuers, ſixteene Bowes, and ſixe Partizans, two Drums, and two Trumpets.

July 28. Thus hauing parted from our companie: we arriued at the Iland of *Catiuaas*, being twentie fiue leagues diſtant; about fiue dayes after, there we landed all in the morning betimes: and our Captaine trained his men deliuering them their ſeuerall weapons and armes, which hitherto he had kept verie faire and ſafe in good caske: and exhorting them after his manner, he declared the greatneſſe of the hope of good things that was there: the weakeneſſe of the towne being vnwalled, and the hope he had of preuailing, to recompence his wrongs, eſpecially now that he ſhould come with

with ſuch a crew, who were like minded with himſelfe; and at ſuch a time, as he ſhould be vtterly vndiſcouered.

Therefore euen that afternoone, hee cauſeth vs to ſet ſaile for *Nombre de Dios*, ſo that before Sunne ſet we were as farre as *Rio Franciſco*: thence hee led vs hard aboard the ſhore (that we might not be deſcried of the watch-houſe) vntill that being come within two leagues of the point of the Bay, he cauſed vs to ſtrike a hull, and caſt our grappers, riding ſo vntill it was darke night.

Then we waighed againe and ſet ſaile, rowing hard aboard the ſhore, with as much ſilence as we could, till we recouered the point of the harbour vnder the high land: there we ſtayed all ſilent, purpoſing to attempt the towne in the dawning of the day, after that we had repoſed our ſelues for a while.

But our captaine with ſome others of his beſt men, finding that our people were talking of the greatneſſe of the towne, and what their ſtrength might be, eſpecially by the report of the Negroes that we tooke in the Ile of *Pinos*: thought it beſt to put theſe conceits out of their heads, and therefore to take the opportunitie of the riſing of the Moone that night, perſwading them that it was the day dawning. By this occaſion we were at the Towne a large houre ſooner then firſt was purpoſed. For we arriued there by three of the clocke after midnight: at what time it fortuned that a ſhip of *Spaine*, of ſixtie tunnes, laden with Canarie wines and other commodities, which had but lately come into the Bay, and had not yet furld her ſprit-ſaile, eſpying our foure Pinnaces, being an extraordinarie number, and thoſe rowing with many Oares, ſent away her Gundeloe towards the Towne, to giue warning: but our Captaine perceiuing it, cut betwixt her and the Towne, forcing her to goe to th'other ſide of the Bay: whereby wee landed without impeachment, al-

though we found one Gunner vpon the Platforme, in the verie place where we landed, being a ſandy Bay and no Key at all, not paſt twentie yards from the houſes.

There we found ſix great Peeces of braſſe Ordnance, mounted vpon their Carriages, ſome Demy, ſome whole Culuering: we preſently diſmounted them, the Gunner fled, the Towne tooke alarme (being verie readie thereto, by reaſon of their often diſquieting, by their neere neighbors the *Symerons*) as we perceiued, not only by the noyſe and cries of the people, but by the Bell ringing out, and Drums running vp and downe the Towne.

Our Captaine, according to the Directions which hee had giuen ouer night, to ſuch as hee had made choyce of for the purpoſe, left twelue to keepe the Pinnaces, that we might be ſure of a ſafe retreit, if the worſt befell. And hauing made ſure work of the Platform before he would enter the Towne, hee thought beſt, firſt to view the Mount, on the Eaſt ſide of the Towne, where he was informed, by ſundry intelligences the yeere before, they had an intent to plant Ordnance, which might ſcowre round about the Towne. Therefore leauing one halfe of his company, to make a ſtand at the foot of the Mount, he marched vp preſently vnto the top of it, with all ſpeed, to try the truth of the report for the more ſafetie. There wee found no peece of Ordnance, but onely a verie fit place prepared for ſuch vſe, and therefore we left it without any of our men, and with all celeritie returned downe the Mount. Then our Captaine appointed his brother, with *Iohn Oxnam* and ſixteene other of his men, to goe about behinde the Kings treaſure-houſe, and enter neere the Eaſter end of the market-place: himſelfe with the reſt, would paſſe vp the broad ſtreet, into the market-place, with ſound of Drum and Trumpet,

The Firepikes diuided halfe to the one, and halfe to the other

other company, ſerued no leſſe for fright to the enemy, then light of our men, who by this means might diſcerne euerie place verie well, as if it were neere day, whereas the inhabitants ſtood amazed at ſo ſtrange a ſight, maruelling what the matter might be, and imagining, by reaſon of our Drums and Trumpets ſounding in ſo ſundry places, that we had beene a farre greater number then we were.

Yet by meanes of the Souldiers, which were in the Towne, and by reaſon of the time which wee ſpent in marching vp and downe the Mount, the Souldiers and the Inhabitants had put themſelues in armes, and brought their companies in ſome order, at the South-eaſt end of the market-place, neere the Gouernours houſe, and not farre from the gate of the Towne, which is only one, leading towards *Panama*, hauing (as it ſeems) gathered themſelues thither, either that in the Gouernours ſight they might ſhew their valour, if it might preuaile, or elſe that by the gate, they might beſt take their *Vale*, and eſcape readieſt.

And to make a ſhew of farre greater numbers of ſhot, or elſe of a cuſtome they had, by the like deuice to terrifie the *Symerons*, they had hung lines with matches lighted, ouerthwart the Weſter-end of the market-place, betweene the Church and the Croſſe, as though there had beene in a readineſſe ſome company of ſhot, whereas indeed there was not paſt two or three that taught theſe lines to dance, till they themſelues ran away, as ſoone as they perceiued they were diſcouered.

But the Souldiers, and ſuch as were joyned with them, preſented vs with a jolly hot volley of ſhot, beating full vpon the egreſſe of that ſtreet, in which we marched, and leuelling verie low, ſo as their bullets oft times grazed on the ſand. We ſtood not to anſwer them in like tearmes; but hauing diſcharged our firſt volley of ſhot, and fea-

thered them with our arrowes (which our Captaine had cauſed to be made of purpoſe in *England*, not great ſheafe arrowes, but fine roving ſhafts, very carefully reſerued for the ſeruice) we came to the puſh of pike, ſo that our fire-pikes being well armed and made of purpoſe, did vs very great ſeruice. For our men with their Pikes and ſhort weapons, in ſhort time tooke ſuch order among theſe Gallants, ſome vſing the but-end of their Peeces in ſtead of other weapons, that partly by reaſon of our arrowes, which did vs there notable ſeruice, partly by occaſion of this ſtrange and ſuddaine cloſing with them, in this manner vnlooked for, and the rather for that at the very inſtant, our Captaines brother, with the other Company, with their fire-pikes, entred the market place by the eaſter ſtreet: they caſting downe their weapons, fled all out of the Towne by the gate aforeſaid, which had beene built for a barre to keepe out of the Towne the *Symerons*, who had often aſſailed it, but now ſerued for a gap for the Spaniards to flye at.

In following and returning, diuers of our men were hurt, with the weapons which the enemy had let fall as hee fled: ſomewhat, for that we marched with ſuch ſpeed, but more for that they lay ſo thicke and croſſe on the other.

Being returned, wee made our ſtand neere the midſt of the market place, where a tree groweth hard by the croſſe; whence our Captaine ſent ſome of our men to ſtay the ringing of the alarme Bell, which had continued all this while: but the Church being very ſtrongly built and faſt ſhut, they could not without firing (which our Captaine forbad) get into the ſteeple where the Bell hung.

In the meane time, our Captaine hauing taken two or three Spaniards in their flight, commanded them to ſhew them the Gouernours houſe, where he vnder-

ſtood

ſtood was the ordinarie place of vnlading the Moyles, of all the treaſure which came from *Panamah* by the Kings appointment: Although the ſiluer onely was kept there: the gold, pearle and iewels (being there once entred by the Kings Officer) was carried from thence to the Kings treaſure-houſe not farre off, being a houſe very ſtrongly built of lime and ſtone, for the ſafe keeping thereof.

At our comming to the Gouernours houſe, we found the great doore (where the Moyles do vſually vnlade) euen then opened a Candle, lighted vpon the top of the ſtayers; and a faire Gennet readie ſadled, either for the Gouernour himſelfe, or ſome other of his houſehold to carry it after him. By meanes of this light, we ſaw a huge heape of ſiluer, in that nether roome: being a pile of barres of ſiluer, of (as neere as we could gueſſe) ſeuentie foote in length, of ten foot in breadth, and twelue foot in hight, piled vp againſt the wall, each barre was betweene thirty fiue and fortie pound in weight. At ſight hereof our Captaine commanded ſtraightly that none of vs ſhould touch a barre of ſiluer, but ſtand vpon our weapons, becauſe the Towne was full of people, and there was in the Kings treaſure-houſe neere the waters ſide, more gold & iewels then all our foure Pinnaces would carrie, which we would preſently ſet ſome in hand to breake open, notwithſtanding the Spaniards reports of the ſtrength of it.

We were no ſooner returned to our ſtrength, but there was a report brought by ſome of our men, that our Pinnaces were in danger to be taken, and that if we our ſelues got not aboard before day, wee ſhould be oppreſt with multitudes both of Souldiers and townes-people. This report had his ground from one *Diego* a *Negro*, who in the time of the firſt conflict, came and called to our Pinnaces, to know whether they were Captaine *Drakes?* and vpon anſwer receiued, continued intreating to be taken aboard

(though he had first three or foure shot made at him) vntill at length they fetcht him, and learned by him, that not past eight dayes before our arriuall the King had sent thither some hundred and fiftie Souldiers to guard the Towne against the *Symerons*, and the Towne at this time was full of people besides: which, all the rather beleeued, because it agreed with the report of the Negroes, which we tooke before at the Ile of *Pinos*: and therefore our Captaine sent his brother and *Iohn Oxnam* to vnderstand the truth thereof. They found our men, which we left in our Pinnaces, much frighted, by reason that they saw great Troopes and companies running vp and downe, with matches light, some with other weapons; crying *Que gente? que gente?* which hauing not beene at the first conflict but comming from the vtter ends of the towne (being at least as bigge as *Plimouth*) came many times neere vs, and vnderstanding that we were English, discharged their peeces and ran away.

Presently after this, a mightie shower of raine, with a terrible storme of thunder and lightning, fell, which powred downe so vehemently (as it vsually doth in those Countries) that before we could recouer the shelter of a certaine shade or pent-house, at the Wester end of the Kings treasure-house (which seemeth to haue beene built there of purpose to auoid Sunne and raine) some of our bow-strings were wet, and some of our match and powder hurt: which while wee were carefull of to refurnish and supply; diuers of our men, harping on the reports lately brought vs, were muttering of the Forces of the Towne, which our Captaine perceiuing, told them, that he had brought them to the mouth of the treasure of the world, if they would want it, they might hencefoorth blame no bodie but themselues. And therefore as soone as the storme beganne to asswage of his furie (which was

a long halfe houre) willing to giue his men no longer leasure to demurre of those doubts, nor yet allow the Enemie farther respit to gather themselues together: hee stept forward, commanding his brother, with *Iohn Oxnam* and the Companie appointed them, to breake the Kings Treasure-house; the rest to follow him, to keepe the strength of the market place, till they had dispatched the businesse for which they came.

But as hee stept forward, his strength and sight and speech failed him, and hee began to faint for want of bloud, which as then we perceiued, had, in greate quantitie, issued vpon the sand, out of a wound receiued in his legge in the first incounter, whereby though hee felt some paine, yet (for that he perceiued diuers of the Company, hauing already gotten many good things, to be very readie to take all occasions, of winding themselues, out of that conceited danger) would he not haue it knowne to any, till this his fainting, against his will, bewrayed it; the bloud hauing first filled the verie prints which our foot-steps made, to the great dismay of all our Companie, who thought it not credible, that one man should be able to spare so much bloud and liue.

And therefore euen they, which were willingest to haue aduentured most, for so faire a bootie, would in no case hazard their Captaines life; but (hauing giuen him, somewhat to drinke wherewith he recouered himselfe, and hauing bound his Scarfe about his legge, for the stopping of the bloud) entreated him to be content to go with them aboord, there to haue his wound searched and drest, and then to returne a shoare againe if he thought good.

This when they could not perswade him vnto (as who knew it vtterly) impossible, at least verie vnlikely, that euer they should (for that) returne againe, to recouer the

state

ſtate in which they now were: and was of opinion, that it were more honourable for himſelfe, to ieopard his life for ſo great a benefit, then to leaue off ſo high an enterpriſe vnperformed:) they ioyned altogether, and with force mingled with faire intreatie, they bare him aboard his Pinnace, and ſo abandoned a moſt rich ſpoile for the preſent, onely to preſerue their Captaines life, as being reſolued of him, that while they enioyed his preſence, and had him to command them, they might recouer wealth ſufficient; but if once they loſt him, they ſhould hardly be able to recouer home, no not with that which they had gotten already.

July 29. Thus we embarqued by breake of the day, hauing beſides our Captaine, manie of our men wounded, though none ſlaine but one Trumpeter: whereupon though our Chyrurgeons were buſily employed, in prouiding remedies and ſalues for their wounds: yet the maine care of our Captaine was reſpected by all the reſt; ſo that before we departed out of the Harbour for the more comfort of our Companie, wee tooke the aforeſaid Ship of Wines without great reſiſtance. But before wee had her free off the Heauen, they of the Towne had made meanes to bring on of their Culuerins, which we had diſmounted, ſo as they made a ſhot at vs, but hindered not vs from carrying forth the prize to the Ile *Baſtimientes*, or *The Ile of Victuales*; which is an Iland that lieth without the Bay to the Weſtwards, about a league off the Towne, where we ſtayed the two next dayes, to cure our wounded men, and to refreſh our ſelues, in the goodly Gardens which we there found, abounding with great ſtore of all daintie rootes and fruites, beſides great plentie of Poulterie and other Fowles, no leſſe ſtrange then delicate.

Shortly vpon our firſt arriuall in this Iland, the Gouernour and the reſt of his aſſiſtants in the Towne (as we after-

afterwards vnderſtood) ſent vnto our Captaine a proper Gentleman of meane ſtature, good complexion, and faire ſpoken, a principall Souldier of the late ſent Garriſon, to view in what ſtate wee were. At his comming he proteſted he came to vs of meere good will, for that wee had attempted, ſo great and incredible a matter with ſo few men: and that at the firſt they feared that we had beene French, at whoſe hands they knew they ſhould find no mercie: but after they perceiued by our Arrowes, that wee were Engliſhmen, their feares were the leſſe, for that they knew, that though wee tooke the Treaſure of the place, yet wee would not vſe crueltie towards their perſons.

But albeit this his affection gaue him cauſe enough, to come aboard ſuch, whoſe vertues he ſo honoured, yet the Gouernour alſo had not only conſented to his comming, but directly ſent him, vpon occaſion that diuers of the Towne affirmed (ſaid he) that they knew our Captaine, who the laſt two yeeres had beene often on their Coaſt, and had alwayes vſed their perſons very well. And therefore deſired to know, firſt, whether our Captaine were the ſame Captaine *Drake* or no? and next, becauſe many of their men were wounded with our Arrowes, whether they were poyſoned or no? And how their wounds might beſt bee cured? Laſtly, what victuals wee wanted, or other neceſſaries? Of which the Gouernour promiſed by him to ſupply and furniſh vs, as largely as hee durſt. Our Captaine although hee thought this Souldier but a Spie: yet vſed him very courteouſly, and anſwered him to his Gouernours demands. That he was the ſame *Drake* whom they meant: it was neuer his manner to poyſon his Arrowes: they might cure their wounded by ordinary Chirurgerie: as for wants he knew the Iland of *Baſtimientos* had ſufficient, and could furniſh him if he liſted. but

he wanted nothing but ſome of that ſpeciall commodity, which that Countrey yeelded, to content himſelfe and his Company. And therefore he aduiſed the Gouernour to hold open his eyes, for before hee departed, if God lent him life and leaue, hee meant to reape ſome of their Harueſt, which they get out of the Earth, and ſend into *Spaine* to trouble all the Earth.

To this anſwere vnlooked for, this Gentleman replied: If he might without offence moue ſuch a queſtion, what ſhould then bee the cauſe of our departing from that Towne at this time, where was aboue three hundred and ſixtie Tun of ſiluer readie for the Fleet, and much more Gold in value, reſting in Iron Cheſts in the Kings Treaſure houſe? But when our Captaine had ſhewed him the true cauſe of his vnwilling retreate aboard; he acknowledged, that wee had no leſſe reaſon in departing, then courage in attempting: and no doubt did eaſily ſee, that it was not for the Towne to ſeeke reuenge of vs, by manning forth ſuch Frigates or other veſſels, as they had: but better to content themſelues and prouide for their owne defence.

Thus with great fauour and courteous entertainment, beſides ſuch gifts from our Captaine as moſt contented him: after dinner he was in ſuch ſort diſmiſſed, to make report of that he had ſeene, that he proteſted, hee was neuer ſo much honoured of any in his life.

After his departure, the Negroe fore-mentioned, being examined more fully, confirmed this report of the Gold and Siluer, with many other intelligences of importance, eſpecially how we might haue Gold and Siluer enough if wee would, by meanes of the *Symerons*, whom though he had betrayed diuers times (being vſed thereto by his Maſters) ſo that hee knew they would kill him, if they gat him: yet if our Captaine would vndertake his protection,

protection, he durſt aduenture his life, becauſe he knew our Captaines name was moſt pretious and highly honoured of them.

This report miniſtred occaſion to further conſultation: for which, becauſe this place ſeemed not the ſafeſt; as being neither the healthieſt not quieteſt. The next day in the morning we all ſet our courſe for the Ile of *Pinnos* or *Port Plentie*, where we had left our Ships, continuing all that day, and the next, till towards night before we recouered it. We were the longer in this courſe, for that our Captaine ſent away his brother and *Ellis Hixon* to the weſtward, to ſearch the Riuer of *Chagro*, where himſelfe had beene the yeere before, and yet was carefull to gaine more notice of: it being a Riuer which tendeth to the Southward, within ſix leagues of *Panamah*, where is a little towne called *Venta Cruz*, whence all the treaſure, that was vſually brought thither from *Panamah* by Moyles, was imbarqued in Frigates, downe the Riuer into the North ſea, and ſo to *Nombre de Dios*. It ebbeth and floweth not farre into the land, and therefore it asketh three dayes rowing with a fine Pinnace to paſſe from the mouth to *Venta Cruz*, but one day and a night ſerueth to returne downe the Riuer.

At our returne to our Ships, in our conſultation, Captaine *Rauſe* forecaſting diuers doubts, of our ſafe continuance vpon that coaſt, being now diſcouered, was willing to depart: and our Captaine no leſſe willing to diſmiſſe him: and therefore as ſoone as our Pinnaces returned from *Chagro*, with ſuch aduertiſements as they were ſent for, about eight dayes before: Captaine *Rauſe* tooke his leaue, leauing vs in the Ile aforeſaid, where wee had remained fiue or ſix dayes. In which meane time, hauing put all things in a readineſſe, our Captaine reſolued, with his two Ships and three Pinnaces to goe to *Auguſt* 1.

Auguſt 7.

Carthagene, whither in sayling we spent some sixe dayes, by reason of the calmes which came often vpon vs: but all this time we attempted nothing that wee might haue done by the way, neither at *Tolou*, nor otherwhere, because we would not be discouered.

Aug. 13. We came to anchor with our two ships in the euening in seuen fadome water, betweene the Ilands of *Charesha* and Saint *Barnards*: our Captaine led the three Pinnaces, about the Iland, into the Harbour of *Carthagene*; where at the very entry, hee found a Frigate at anchor, aboard which was onely one old man; who being demanded, where the rest of his company was? answered, that they were gone ashoare in their Gundeloe that euening, to fight about a Mistris: and voluntarily related to our Captaine that two houres before night, there past by them a Pinnace, with Sayle and Oares, as fast as euer they could row, calling to him, whether there had not beene any *English* or *Frenchmen* there lately? And vpon answere that there had beene none: they bid them looke to themselues: that within an houre, that this Pinnace was come to the vtterside of *Carthagene*, there were many great Peeces shot off, whereupon one going to top, to descry what might be the cause? Espied, ouer the Land, diuers Frigates and small shipping, bringing themselues within the Castle.

This report our Captaine credited, the rather, for that himselfe had heard the report of the Ordnance, at Sea, and perceiued sufficiently, that hee was now descryed: notwithstanding, in farther examination, of this olde Mariner, hauing vnderstood, that there was, within the next point, a great ship of Siuell, which had here discharged her loding, and rid now with her yards acrosse, being bound the next morning for saint *Domingo*: our Captaine tooke this old man into his Pinnace to verifie

that

that which he had informed, and rowed towards this Ship, which as we came neere it, hailed vs, asking whence our Shallops were? we answered, from *Nombre de Dios*: straight way they railed and reuiled: we gaue no heed to their words: but euery Pinnace, according to our Captaines order: one on the starboord bough, the other on the starboord quarter, and the Captaine in the midship on the starboord side, forthwith boarded her, though wee had some difficultie to enter, by reason of her height, being of two hundred fortie Tunne. But as soone as we entred vpon the decks, we threw downe the gates and spardecks, to preuent the *Spaniards* from annoying vs with their close fights: who then perceiuing that we were possessed of their Ship, stowed themselues all in hold with their weapons, except two or three yonkers, who were found afore the beetes: when hauing light out of our Pinnaces, we found no danger of the enemie remaining, we cut their Cables at halse, and with our three Pinnaces, towed her without the Iland, into the sound right afore the Towne, without danger of their great shot.

Meane while the Towne hauing intelligence hereof, by their watch, tooke th'alarme, rung out their Bels, shot off about thirtie Peeces of great Ordinance, put all their men in a readinesse horse and foote, came downe to the very point of the wood, and discharged their Caliuers, to impeach vs if they might in going forth.

The next morning our Ships tooke two Frigates, in which were two, who called themselues the Kings *Scriuanos*, the one of *Carthagene*, th'other of *Veragua*, with seuen Marriners and two Negroes: who had beene at *Nombre de Dios* and were now bound for *Cathagene*, with double letters of aduise, to certifie them that Captaine *Drake had beene at Nombre de Dios, had taken it, and had it not beene that hee was hurt with some blessed shot, by all* *Aug.* 14.

likelihood he had sackt it: he was yet still vpon the Coast: they should therefore carefully prepare for him.

After that our Captaine had brought all his fleet together: at the *Scriuanos* entreaties, he was content to doe them all fauour, in setting them and all their companies ashoare; and so bare thence with the Ilands of Saint *Bernards*, about three leagues off the towne: were we found great store of fish for our refreshing.

Here our Captaine considering that he was now discouered, vpon two of the cheefest places of all the Coast, and yet not meaning, to leaue it, till hee had found the *Simerons*, and made his voyage, as hee had conceiued, which would require some length of time, and sure manning of his Pinnaces, hee determined with himselfe, to burne one of his Ships, and make of the other a storehouse, that his Pinnaces (which could not otherwise) might be throughly man'd, and so hee might be able to abide any time. But knowing the affection of his company, how loath they were to leaue either of their Ships, being both so good Saylers and so well furnished, hee purposed in himselfe by some policie, to make them most willing to effect that he intended. And therefore sent for one *Thomas Moone* (who was Carpenter in the Swanne) and taking him into his Cabin, chargeth him to conceale for a time, a piece of seruice, which he must in any case consent to doe aboord his owne Ship: that was, in the middle of the second watch, to go downe secretly into the well of the Ship, and with a great spike-gimlet, to boare three hoales, as neere the keele as hee could, and lay something against it, that the force of the water entring, might make no great noise, nor be discouered by boyling vp: *Thomas Moone* at the hearing hereof being vtterly dismaied, desired to know what cause there might be, to moue him to sincke so good a Barke,

of

of his owne, new, and ſtrong, and that by his meanes, who had beene in two ſo rich and gainefull voyages in her with himſelfe heretofore: If his brother, the Maſter, and the reſt of the company ſhould know of ſuch his fact, he thought verily they would kill him. But when our Captaine had imparted to him his cauſes, and had perſwaded him with promiſe that it ſhould not be knowne, till all of them ſhould be glad of it: he vndertooke it, and did it accordingly.

The next moruing our Captaine tooke his Pinnace verie early, purpoſing to go a fiſhing (for that there is verie great ſtore in all the Coaſt) and falling a boord the Swanne, calleth for his brother to go with him, who riſing ſuddenly, anſwereth that he would follow preſently, or if it would pleaſe him to ſtay a verie little, he would attend him. Our Captaine preceiuing the feate wrought, would not haſten him, but in rowing away, demanded of them, why their Barke was ſo deepe? as making no account of it: but by occaſion of this demand, his brother ſent one downe to the Steward to knew whether there were any water in the Ship? or what other cauſe might be? The Steward haſtily ſtepping downe at his vſuall skuttle, was wet vp to the waſte, and ſhifting with more haſte to come vp againe as if the water had followed him, cryed out that the Ship was full of water. There was no neede to haſten the companie, ſome to pumpe, others to ſearch for the leake, which the Captaine of the Barke ſeeing they did on all hands verie willingly, he followed his brother, and certified him of the ſtrange chance befalne them that night; that whereas they had not pumpt twiſe in ſixe weekes before, now they had ſixe foote water in hold: therefore he deſireth leaue from attending him in fiſhing, to intend the *Auguſt* 15.

the search and remedie of the leake: and when our Captaine with his companie profered to go to helpe them, he answered, they had men enough aboord, and prayed him to continue his fishing, that they might haue some part of it for their dinner. Thus returning, he found his companie had taken great paines, but had freed the water verie little: yet such was their loue to the Barke (as our Captaine well knew) that they ceased not, but to the vtmost of their strength, laboured all that they might till three in the afternoone: by which time, the companie perceiuing, that though they had beene relieued by our Captaine himselfe and many of his companie, yet they were not able to free aboue a foote and a halfe of water, and could haue no likelihood of finding the leake, had now a lesse liking of her then before, and greater content to heare of some means for remedie: whereupon our Captaine consulting with them what they thought best to bee done: found that they had more desire to haue all as hee thought fit, then iudgement to conceiue any meanes of remedie. And therefore he propounded, that himselfe would goe into the Pinnace, till hee could prouide some handsome Frigate, and that his brother should be Captaine in the admirall, and the Master should also be there placed with him, insteed of this: which seeing they could not saue, he would haue fired, that the enemy might neuer recouer her: but first all the Pinnaces should be brought aboord her, that euery one might take out of her whatsoeuer they lackt or liked. This, though the company at the first marueiled at, yet presently it was put in execution and performed that night: our Captaine
Aug.16. had his desire, and men enough for his Pinnaces.

The next morning, we resolued to seeke out some fit place, in the sound of *Dorrienne*, where we might safely leaue our Ship at Ancor, not discouerable by the enemy, who

who thereby might imagine vs quite departed from the Coaſt, and we the meane time better follow our purpoſes with our Pinnaces; of which our Captaine would himſelfe take two to *Rio Grande*, and the third leaue with his brother to ſeeke the *Symerons*.

Vpon this reſolution, we ſet ſaile preſently for the ſayd Sound, which within fiue dayes we recouered, abſteining of purpoſe, from all ſuch occaſion as might hinder our determination, or bewray our being vpon the Coaſt. As ſoone as we arriued, where our Captaine intended, and had choſen a fit and conuenient road (out of all trade) for our purpoſe; we repoſed our ſelues there, for ſome fifteene dayes, keeping our ſelues cloſe, that the bruite of our being vpon the Coaſt might ceaſe. *Aug.* 21.

But in the meane time wee were not idle: for beſides ſuch ordinarie workes, as our Captaine euerie moneth did vſually inure vs to, about the trimming and fitting of his Pinnaces, for their better ſailing and rowing: hee cauſed vs to rid a large plot of ground, both of Trees and Brakes and to build vs houſes, ſufficient for all our lodging, and one eſpecially for all our publique meetings, wherein the Negro which fled to vs before did vs great ſeruice, as being well acquainted with the Countrey, and their meanes of building. Our Archers made themſelues Butts to ſhoot at, becauſe wee had many that delighted in that Exerciſe, and wanted not a Fletcher to keepe our Bowes and Arrowes in order. The reſt of the company, euerie one as hee liked beſt, made his diſport at Bowles, Quoits, Keiles, &c. For our Captaine allowed one halfe of their company to paſſe their time thus, euerie other day interchangeably, the other halfe being enioyned to the neceſſarie workes, about our Ship and Pinnaces, and the prouiding of freſh victuall, Fiſh, Fowle, Hogs, Deere, Conies, &c. whereof there is great

plentie. Here our Smiths set vp their Forge, as they v-sed, being furnished out of *England* with Anuill, Iron, Coales, and all manner of necessaries, which stood vs in great stead.

Septem. 5. At the end of these fifteene dayes, our Captaine leauing his Ship in his brothers charge, to keepe all things in order, himselfe tooke with him, according to his former determination, two Pinnaces for *Rio Grand*, and passing

Septem. 8. by *Carthagene*, but out of sight, when wee were within two leagues of the Riuer, wee landed to the Westwards on the maine, where we saw great store of Cattle. There we found some Indians, who asking vs in friendly sort, in broken *Spanish*, what we would haue, and vnderstanding that we desired fresh victuals in traffique; they tooke such Cattle for vs, as we needed, with ease and so readily, as if they had a speciall commandment ouer them, whereas they would not abide vs to come neere them: And this also they did willingly, because our Captaine (according to his custome) contented them for their paines, with such things as they account greatly of, in such sort that they promised, wee should haue there of them at any time, what we would.

The same day we departed thence to *Rio Grand*, where wee entred about three of the clocke in the after-noone. There are two entrings into this Riuer, of which wee entred the Westermost called *Boca chica*. The freshet of this Riuer is so great, that we being halfe a league from the mouth of it, filled fresh water for our beuerage.

From three a clocke till darke night we rowed vp the streame, but the current was so strong downewards, that wee got but two leagues all that time. Wee moared our Pinnaces to a tree that night: for that presently with the closing of the euening, there fell a monstrous shower of raine, with such strange and terrible claps of thunder, and

flashes

flaſhes of lightning, as made vs, not a little to maruell at, although our Captaine had beene acquainted with ſuch like in that Countrey, and told vs that they continue ſeldom longer then three quarters of an houre. This ſtorme was no ſooner ceaſt, but it became verie calme, and therewith there came ſuch an innumerable multitude, of a kind of flies of that Countrey called *Muskitos* (like our Gnats) which bite ſo ſpiteſully, that wee could not reſt all that night, nor finde meanes to defend our ſelues from them, by reaſon of the heat of the Countrey: the beſt remedy we then found againſt them, was the iuyce of Lymons.

At the breake of day we departed, rowing in the eddy, and haling vp by the trees where the eddy failed, with great labour, by ſpels, without ceaſing, each company their halfe houre glaſſe, without meeting any, till about three a clock after noone, by which time we could get but fiue leagues a head. Then we eſpied a Canow with two Indians fiſhing in the Riuer; but we ſpake not to them, leſt ſo we might be deſcryed: nor they to vs, as taking vs to be Spanyards. But within an houre after we eſpied certaine houſes on the other ſide of the Riuer, whoſe channell is twentie fiue fathome deepe, and his bredth ſo great, that a man can ſcantly be diſcerned from ſide to ſide. Yet a Spanyard which kept thoſe houſes, had eſpied our Pinnaces, and thinking we had been his Country-men, made a ſmoake; for a ſignall to turne that way, as being deſirous to ſpeake with vs. After that, we eſpying this ſmoak, had made with it, and were halfe the Riuer ouer, he wheaued vs with his hat, and his long hanging ſleeues to come a ſhoare: But as we drew neerer vnto him, hee diſcerned that we were not thoſe he looked for, he took his heeles, & fled from his houſes, which we found to be fiue in number, all full of white Ruske, dried Bacon, that Country Cheeſe (like Holland Cheeſe in faſhion, but farre more delicate *Septem. 9.*

in taſte, of which they ſend into *Spaine* as ſpeciall Preſents) many ſorts of ſweet meats, and Conſerues, with great ſtore of ſugar, being prouided to ſerue the Fleet returning to *Spaine*.

With this ſtore of victuals we loaded our Pinnaces, and by the ſhutting in of the day we were ready to depart; for that wee haſtned the rather, by reaſon of an intelligence giuen vs by certaine Indian Women which wee found in thoſe houſes: that the Frigates (theſe are ordinarily thirtie, or vpwards, which vſually tranſport the merchandiſe ſent out of *Spaine* to *Carthagene*, from thence to theſe houſes, and ſo in great Canoas vp hence into *Nueva Reyno*, for which, the Riuer running many hundred leagues within the land, ſerueth verie fitly, and returne in exchange, the gold and treaſure, ſiluer, victuals and commodities, which that Kingdome yeeldeth abundantly:) were not yet returned from *Carthagene*, ſince the firſt alarum they tooke of our being there.

Sept. 10. As wee were going aboord our Pinnaces from theſe Store-houſes, the Indians of a great Towne called *Villa del Rey*, ſome two miles diſtant from the waters ſide where wee landed, were brought downe by the *Spanyards* into the buſhes, and ſhot their arrowes; but we rowed downe the ſtreame, with the current (for that the winde was againſt vs) onely one league, and becauſe it was night, anchored till the morning, when wee rowed downe to the mouth of the Riuer, where wee vnladed all our prouiſions, and cleanſed our Pinnaces, according to our Captaines cuſtome, and tooke it in againe, and the ſame day went to the Weſtward.

In this returne we deſcried a Ship, a Barke, and a Frigate, of which the Ship and Frigate went for *Carthagene*, but the Barke was bound to the Northwards, with the winde Eaſterly, ſo that wee imagined ſhee had ſome gold

gold or treasure going for *Spaine*: therefore we gaue her chase, but taking her, and finding nothing of importance in her, vnderstanding that she was bound for Sugar and Hides, we let her goe, and hauing a good gale of winde, continued our former course to our Ship and company.

In the way betweene *Carthagene* and *Tolou*, wee tooke *Scept.* 11. fiue or sixe Frigates, which were laden from *Tolou*, with liue Hogs, Hens and Maiz, which we call Guynie wheate: of these hauing gotten what intelligence they could giue, of their preparations for vs, and diuers opinions of vs, was dismissed all the men, onely staying two Frigates with vs because they were so well stored with good victualls.

Within three dayes after we arriued at the place which our Captaine chose at first to leaue his Ship in, which was called by our Companie *Port-plentie*, by reason wee brought in thither continually all manner store of good victuals, which we tooke going that way by Sea, for the victualling of *Carthagene* and *Nombre de Dios*, as also the Fleetes going & comming out of *Spaine*: so that if we had beene two thousand, yea three thousand persons, wee might with our Pinnaces easily haue prouided them sufficient victuall of Wine, Meale, Ruske, Cassauy, (a kinde of Bread made of a roote called *Yucca*, whose iuyce is poyson, but the substance good and wholesome) dryed Beefe, dryed Fish, liue Sheepe, liue Hogs, aboundance of Hens, besides the infinite store of daintie fresh very easily to be taken euery day. Insomuch that be were forced to build foure seuerall Magazines or store-houses, some tenne, some twentie leagues a sunder, some in Ilands, some in the maine, prouiding our selues in diuers places, that though the Enemie should with force surprise any one, yet we might be sufficiently furnished, till we had made our voyage as wee did hope. In building of these, our Negroes helpe was very much, as hauing a

ſpeciall skill, in the ſpeedy erection of ſuch houſes.

This our ſtore was ſuch, as thereby we releeued, not onely our ſelues and the *Symerons*, while they were with vs, but alſo two French Ships in extreme want. For in our abſence Captaine *Iohn Drake* hauing one of our Pinnaces as was appointed, went in with the maine, and as he rowed a looſe the ſhoare, where he was directed by *Diego* the Negroe aforeſaid, which willingly came vnto vs at *Nombre de Dios*, hee eſpied certaine of the *Symerons*, with whome he dealt ſo effectually, that in concluſion he left two of our men with their Leader, and brought aboard two of theirs: agreeing that they ſhould meete him againe the next day, at a Riuer midway betweene the *Cabezas* and our Ships, which they named *Rio Diego*.

Theſe two being very ſenſible men, choſen out by their Commander, did with all reuerence and reſpect, declare vnto our Captaine, that their Nation conceiued great ioy of his arriuall, becauſe they knew him to be an enemy to the *Spaniards*, not onely by his late being in *Nombre de Dios*, but alſo by his former voyages, and therefore were ready to aſſiſt and fauour his enterpriſes againſt his and their Enemies to the vttermoſt: and to that end their Captaine and Companie, did ſtay at this preſent neere the mouth of *Rio Diego*, to attend what anſwer and order ſhould be giuen them: that they would haue marched by land, euen to this place, but that the way is verie long, and more troubleſome, by reaſon of many ſteepe Mountaines, deepe Riuers and thicke brakes: deſiring therefore, that it might pleaſe our Captaine to take ſome order, as he thought beſt, with all conuenient ſpeed in this behalfe. Our Captaine conſidering the ſpeech of theſe perſons, and weighing it with his former intelligences had, not onely by Negroes but Spaniards alſo,

whereof

whereof he was alwayes very carefull: as alſo conferring it with his brothers informations of the great kindneſſe, that they ſhewed him being lately with them: after hee had heard the opinions of thoſe of beſt ſeruice with him, what were fitteſt to be done preſently: reſolued himſelfe with his brother, and the two *Symerons*, in his two Pinnaces to go toward this Riuer, as he did the ſame euening; giuing order, that the Ship and the reſt of his Fleet, ſhould the next morning follow him, becauſe there was a place of as great ſafetie and ſufficiencie, which his brother had found out neere the Riuer. The ſafetie of it conſiſted, not onely, in that which is common all along that coaſt from *Tolou* to *Nombre de Dios*, being aboue ſixty leagues, that it is a moſt goodly & plentifull Countrey, and yet inhabited not with one Spaniard, or any for the Spaniards: but eſpecially in that it lieth among a great many of goodly Ilands full of Trees, where, though there be channels, yet there are ſuch Rockes and ſhoales, that no man can enter by night, without great danger, nor by day without diſcouery, whereas our Ship might lie hidden within the Trees.

The next day we arriued at this Riuer appointed, where we found the *Symerons* according to promiſe: the reſt of their number, were a mile vp in a wood by the riuers ſide. There, after we had giuen them entertainement and receiued good teſtimonies of their ioy and good will towards vs, we tooke two more of them into our Pinnaces, leauing our two men with the reſt of theirs, to march by land, to another Riuer called *Rio Guana*, with intent there to meete with another Companie of *Symerons*, which were now in the Mountaines. So we departed that day from *Rio Diego*, with our Pinnaces towards our Ship, as maruelling that ſhe followed vs not as was appointed. *Sept.* 14.

But two dayes after, we found her in the place where we *Sept.* 16.

we left her, but in farre other ſtate, being much ſpoyled, and in great danger, by reaſon of a tempeſt ſhe had in our abſence.

Sept. 18. As ſoone as we could trimme our Shippe, being ſome two dayes, our Captaine ſent away one of his Pinnaces, towards the bottome of the Bay, amongſt the ſhoales, and ſandy Ilands, to ſound out the channell) for the bringing in of our Ship neerer the maine.

Sept. 19. The next day we followed, and were (with warie pilatage, directed ſafely into the beſt channell, with much adoe to recouer the Roade, among ſo many flats and ſhoales. It was neere about fiue leagues from the *Catiuaas*, betwixt an Iland and the maine, where we moared our Ship. The Iland was not aboue foure Cables length from the maine, being in quantitie ſome three Acres of ground, flat and very full of trees and buſhes.

Sept. 22. We were forced to ſpend the beſt part of three dayes, after our departure from our *Port-plentie*, before wee were quiet in the new-found Roade, which we had but newly entred, when our two men and the former Troupe

Sept. 23. of *Simerons*, with twelue other whom they had met in the Mountaines, came in ſight ouer againſt our Ship, on the maine: whence we fet them all aboard, to their greate comfort and our content: they reioycing that they ſhould haue ſome fit opportunity, to wreake their wrongs on the Spaniards: we hoping that now our voyage ſhould be bettered.

At our firſt meeting when our Captaine had moued them, to ſhew him the meanes which they had to furniſh him with gold and ſiluer: they anſwered plainely, that had they knowne gold had beene his deſire, they could haue ſatisfied him with ſtore, which for the preſent they could not do, becauſe the Riuers, in which they had ſuncke great ſtore, which they had taken from the Spaniards

Spaniards, rather to deſpite them then for loue of gold, were now ſo high, that they could not get it out of ſuch depths for him, and becauſe the Spaniards in theſe rainy moneths doe not vſe to carrie their treaſure by land.

This anſwer although it were ſomewhat vnlooked for, yet nothing diſcontented vs, but rather perſwaded vs farther of their honeſt and faithfull meaning towards vs. Therefore our Captaine to entertaine theſe fiue moneths, commanded all our Ordnance and Artillerie a ſhoare, with all our other prouiſions: ſending his Pinnaces to the maine, to bring ouer great trees, to make a Fort vpon the ſame Iland, for the planting of all our Ordnance therein, and for our ſafeguard, if the Enemy in all this time ſhould chance to come.

Our *Symerons* cut downe *Palmito* boughes and bran- *Sept.* 24. ches, and with wonderfull ſpeed raiſed vp two large houſes for all our Company. Our Fort was then made (by reaſon of the place) triangle wiſe with maine timber and earth, of which the Trench yeelded vs good ſtore, ſo that we made it thirteene foot in height.

But after we had continued vpon this Iland foureteene *Octob.* 7. dayes, our Captaine hauing determined, with three Pinnaces to goe for *Carthagene*, left his brother *Iohn Drake*, to gouerne theſe who remained behinde with the *Symerons*, to finiſh the Fort which hee had begun: for which he appointed him to fetch boords and plancks, as many as his Pinnace would carrie, from the prize which wee tooke at *Rio Grand*, and left at the *Catiuaas*, where ſhee draue a ſhore and wracked, in our abſence: but now ſhee might ſerue verie commodiouſly to ſupply our vſes, in making Platformes for our Ordnance. Thus our Captaine and his brother tooke their leaue, the one to the Eaſtward, and the other to the *Catiuaas*.

That night wee came to an Ile, which hee called

Spurkite Iland, becauſe we found there great ſtore of ſuch a kinde a bird in ſhape, but verie delicate, of which wee killed and roſted many, ſtaying there till the next day
Octob. 8. mid-noone when we departed thence: And about foure a clocke recouered a big Iland in our way, where we ſtayed all night, by reaſon that there was great ſtore of fiſh, and eſpecially of a great kind of ſhell-fiſh of a foot long, we called them *Whelkes*.

Octob. 9. The next morning we were cleere of theſe Ilands and
Octob. 13. Shoales, and haled off into the Sea. About foure dayes after, neere the Ilands of Saint *Bernards*, wee chaſed two
Oct. 14, 15. Frigates a ſhore: and recouering one of the Ilands, made our abode there ſome two dayes, to waſh our Pinnaces and rake of the fiſh.

Octob. 16. Thence wee went towards *Tolou*, and that day landed neere the Towne in a garden, where wee found certaine *Indians*, who deliuered vs their bowes and arrowes, and gathered for vs ſuch fruit as the Garden did yeeld, being many ſorts of daintie fruits and roots, ſtill contenting them for that we receiued: our Captaines principall intent in taking this and other places by the way, not being for any other cauſe, but onely to learne true intelligences of the ſtate of the Countrey and of the Fleets.

Hence we departed preſently, and rowed towards *Chareſha* the Iland of *Carthagene*, and entred in at *Bocha Chica*, and hauing the winde large, wee ſailed in towards the Citie, and let fall our Grappers betwixt the Iland and the maine, right ouer againſt the goodly Garden Iland. In which our Captaine would not ſuffer vs to land, notwithſtanding our importunate deſire, becauſe hee knew it might be dangerous: for that they are wont to ſend Souldiers thither, when they know any men of warre vpon the Coaſt, which we found accordingly: for within three houres after, paſſing by the point of the Iland, wee had a volley

volley of an hundred ſhot from them, and yet there was but one of our men hurt.

This euening wee departed to Sea, and the day following, being ſome two leagues off the Harbour, wee tooke a Barke, and found that the Captaine and his wife with the better ſort of the paſſengers, had forſaken her, and were gone a ſhore in their Gundelow: by occaſion whereof wee boorded without reſiſtance, though they were verie well prouided, with ſwords and targets, and ſome ſmall ſhot, beſides foure iron Baſes. She was about fiftie Tunne, hauing ten Mariners, fiue or ſix Negroes, great ſtore of ſope and ſweet meats, bound from Saint *Domingo* to *Carthagene*. This Captaine left behinde him a ſilke Ancient with his Armes, as might be thought in haſtie departing. *Octob.* 17.

The next day we ſent all the company a ſhore to ſeeke their Maſters, ſauing a young Negrito of three or foure yeeres old, which we brought away, but kept the Barke, and in her, bore into the mouth of *Carthagene* Harbour, where we anchored. *Octob.* 18.

That afternoon, certaine horſe-men came downe to the point by the Wood ſide, and with the *Scriuano* foremẽtioned, came towards our Barke with a Flag of Truce, deſiring of our Captaine ſafe conduct for his comming and going: the which being granted, he came aboord vs, giuing our Captaine great thankes for his manifold fauours, &c. promiſing that night before day breake, to bring as much victuall as they would deſire, what ſhift ſoeuer hee made, or what danger ſoeuer hee incurr'd of law and puniſhment. But this fell out to be nothing but a deuice of the Gouernour forced vpon the *Scriuano*, to delay time, til they might prouide themſelues of ſufficient ſtrength to entrap vs: for which this fellow, by his ſmooth ſpeech, was thought a fit meane. So by Sunne riſing, *Octob.* 19.

when we perceiued his words but words, wee put to Sea to the Westward of the Iland, some three leagues off, where we lay at Hull the rest of all that day and night.

Octob. 20. The next day in the afternoon, there came out of *Carthagene*, two Frigates bound for Saint *Domingo*, the one of fiftie, the other of twelue Tunne, hauing nothing in them but ballast: we tooke them within a league of the Towne, and came to anchor with them, within Saker shot of the East Bulwarke: there were in those Frigates some twelue or thirteene common Mariners, which intreated to be set a shoare: to them our Captaine gaue the great Frigates Gundelow, and dismissed them.

Octob. 21. The next morning, when they came downe to the Wester point with a flag of Truce, our Captaine manned one of his Pinnaces and rowed a shoare: when we were within a Cables length of the shoare, the Spaniards fled, hiding themselues in the Woods, as being afraid of our Ordnance; but indeed to draw vs on to land confidently, and to presume of our strength. Our Captaine commanding the Grapnell to be cast out of the sterne, veered the Pinnace a shoare, and as soone as shee touched the sand, hee alone leapt a shoare in their sight, to declare that hee durst set his foot a land, but stayed not among them: to let them know, that though hee had not sufficient forces to conquer them, yet hee had sufficient iudgement to take heed of them. And therefore perceiuing their intent, as soone as our Captaine was aboord, wee haled off vpon our Grapner and rid a while. They presently came forth vpon the sand, and sent a youth, as with a message from the Gouernour, to know what our intent was, to stay thus vpon the Coast? Our Captaine answered, hee meant to traffique with them: for hee had Tin, Pewter, Cloth, and other Merchandise that they needed. The youth swam backe againe with this answer; and

and was presently returned, with another message: that, the King had forbidden to traffique with any forraine Nation for any commodities, except Powder and Shot, of which if wee had any store, they would be his Marchants; he answered, that he was come from his Countrie, to exchange his commodities for Gold and Siluer, and is not purposed to returne without his errand. They are like (in his opinion) to haue little rest, if that by faire meanes they would not traffique with him. He gaue this Messenger a faire Shirt for a reward, and so returned him: who rowled his shirt about his head and swamme very speedily.

We heard no answer all that day, and therefore toward night we went aboord our Frigats and reposed our selues, setting and keeping very orderly all that night our watch, with great and small shot.

The next morning the winde which had beene Westerly in the euening, altered to the Eastward. About the dawning of the day, wee espied two Sayles turning towards vs, whereupon our Captaine weighed with his Pinnaces, leauing the two Frigates vnmand. But when we were come somewhat nigh them, the winde calmed, and we were faine to row towards them, till that approching verie nigh we saw many heads peering ouer boord. For, as we perceiued, these two Frigates were mand and set foorth out of *Carthagene*, to fight with vs, and at least to empeach or busie vs, whiles by some meanes or other they might recouer the Frigates from vs: but our Captaine preuented both their drifts. For commanding *Iohn Oxnam* to stay with the one Pinnace, to entertaine these two men of warre, himselfe in the other made such speed, that hee gate to his Frigates which he had left at Anchor, and caused the *Spaniards* (who in the meane time had gotten aboord in a small Canow thinking to haue

towed them within the danger of their shot) to make greater haste thence, then they did thither. For he found that in shifting thence, some of them were faine to swim a land (the Canow not being able to receiue them) and had left their apparell, some their Rapiers and Targets, some their Flaskes and Calliuers behinde them, although they were towing away of one of them: therefore considering that we could not man them, we suncke the one, burnt the other, giuing them to vnderstand by this, that we perceiued their secret practises.

Octob. 22. This being done, he returned to *Iohn Oxnam*, who all this while lay by the men of warre without proffering of fight. And assoone as our Captaine was come vp to these Frigates, the wind blew much from the sea, so that, we be being betwixt the shoare & them, were in a manner forced to beare roome into the Harbor before them, to the great ioy of the *Spaniards* who beheld it, in supposing, that we would still haue fled before them. But assoone as we were in the Harbor, and felt smooth water, our Pinnaces (as we were assured of) getting the winde, we fought with them vpon th'aduantage, so that after a few shot exchanged, and a storme rising, they were contented to presse no neerer. Therefore as they let fall their Anchors, we presently let drop our Grapners in the winde of them, which the *Spanish* Souldiers seeing, considering the disaduantage of the winde, the likelihood of the storme to continue, and small hope of doing any good, they were glad to retire themselues to the Towne. But by reason of the foule and tempestuous weather, wee rode ther foure dayes, feeling great cold, by reason wee had such sore raines with Westerly winde, and so little succor in our Pinnaces.

Octob. 27. The fift day after, there came in a Frigate from the sea, which seeing vs make towards her, ranne herselfe a

shoare

ſhoare, vnhanging her Rudder and taking away her Sayles, that ſhe might not eaſily be carried away. But when we were come vp to her, we perceiued about a hundred horſe and foote, with their furniture, came downe to the point of the maine, where wee interchanged ſome ſhot with them. One of our great ſhot paſt ſo neere a braue Caualiere of theirs, that thereby they were occaſioned to aduiſe themſelues, and to retreat into the woods, where they might ſufficiently defend and reſcue the Frigate from vs, and annoy vs alſo, if wee ſtayed long about her. Therefore we concluded to go to ſea againe, putting forth through *Boca chica*, with intent to take downe our Maſts, vpon hope of faire wether, and to ride vnder the Rockes called *Las Serenas*, which are two leagues off at ſea, as we had vſually done aforetime, ſo that they could not diſcerne vs from the Rocks. But there the ſea was ſo mightily growne, that we were forced to take the Harbour againe: where wee remained ſixe dayes, notwithſtanding the *Spaniards* greeued greatly at our aboade there ſo long, put an other deuiſe in practiſe to indanger vs. *Nouem.* 2.

For they ſent forth a great Shallop, a fine Gundeloe, and a great Canow, with certaine *Spaniards* with ſhot, and many *Indians* with poyſoned arrowes, as it ſeemed, with intent to begin ſome fight, and then to fly. For aſſoone as wee rowed towards them and enterchanged ſhot, they preſently retired and went a ſhoare into the woods, where an Ambuſh of ſome ſixtie ſhot were laid for vs: beſides two Pinnaces and a Frigate warping towards vs, which were mand as the reſt. They attempted vs verie boldly, being aſſiſted by thoſe others, which from out of the wood had gotten aboard the Gundelo and Canow, and ſeeing vs bearing from them (which we did in reſpect of the Ambuſcado) they

they incouraged themselues and assured their fellowes of the day. But our Captaine weighing this their attempt, and being out of danger of their shot from the land, commanding his other Pinnace to be brought a head of him, and to let fall their Grapners each a head the others, enuironed both the Pinnaces with Bonnets, as for a close fight, and then wheaued them aboord them.

They kept themselues vpon their Oares at Calliuer shot distance, spending powder apace, as we did some two or three houres; we had one of our men onely, wounded in that fight: what they had is vnknowne to vs, but we saw their Pinnaces shot thorow in diuers places, and the powder of one of them tooke on fire: whereupon we waighed, intending to beare roome, to ouer-runne them: which they perceiuing and thinking that we would haue boorded them, rowed away amaine to the defence which they had in the wood, the rather because they were disappointed of their helpe, that they expected from the Frigate which was warping towards vs, but by reason of the much winde that blew, could not come to offend vs, or succour them.

Thus seeing that we were still molested, and no hope remained of any purchase to bee had, in this place any longer, because we were now so notably made knowne in those parts, and because our victuals grew scant, as soone as the weather waxed somewhat better (the wind continuing alwayes Westerly, so that we could not returne to our Ships) our Captaine thought best to goe to the East-
Nouem. 3. ward, towards *Rio grand*, along the Coast, where wee had beene before, and found great store of victuals.

Nouem. 5. But when after two dayes sayling, we were arriued at the Villages of store, where before we had furnished our selues with aboundance of Hens, Sheepe, Calues, Hogges, &c. Now wee found bare nothing, not so much as any people

people left, for that they by the Spanyards commandment were fled to the Mountaines, and had driuen away all their Cattle, that we might not be releeued by them. Herewith being verie sorrie, because much of our victuall in our Pinnaces was spoiled, by the foule weather at Sea, and raines in Harbour, a Frigate being descried at Sea reuiued vs, and put vs in some hope for the time, that in her we should finde sufficient; and thereupon it may easily be guessed, how much we laboured to recouer her: but when we had boorded her, and vnderstood, that she had neither meat nor money, but that she was bound for *Rio Grand*, to take in prouision vpon bils, our great hope conuerted into griefe.

Wee endured with our allowance seuen or eight dayes more, proceeding to the Eastwards, and bearing roome for *Santa Martha*, vpon hope to finde some shipping in the Road, or Limpets on the rockes, or succour against the storme in that good Harbour. Being arriued, and seeing no shipping, wee anchored vnder the Wester point, where is high land, and, as wee thought, free in safetie from the Towne, which is in the bottome of the Bay, not intending to land there, because wee knew that it was fortified, and that they had intelligence of vs. But the Spanyards knowing vs to bee Men of warre, and misliking that wee should shroud vnder their rockes, without their leaue, had conueyed some thirtie or fortie shot among the cliffes, which annoyed vs so spitefully and so vnreuengedly (for that they lay hidden behinde the rockes, but wee lay open to them) that wee were soone wearie of our Harbour, and enforced, for all the storme without, and want within, to put to Sea, which though these enemies of ours were well contented withall, yet for a farewell, as we came open of the Towne, they sent vs a Culuerin shot, which made a neere escape; for

it fell betweene our Pinnaces, as wee were vpon conference of what was beſt to bee done. The Company aduiſed, that if it pleaſed him, they might put themſelues a land ſome place to the Eaſt-ward to get victuals, and rather hope for courteſie of the Countrey people, then continue at Sea, in ſo long cold, and great a ſtorme in ſo leake a Pinnace. But our Captaine would in no wiſe like of that aduice, hee thought it better to beare vp towards *Rio de Haca*, or *Corizao*, with hope there to haue plentie without great reſiſtance, becauſe hee knew, either the Ilands were not verie populous, or elſe it were verie likely that there would bee found ſhips of victuall in a readineſſe.

The Company of the other Pinnace anſwered, that they would willingly follow him thorow the world, but in this they could not ſee how, either their Pinnace ſhould liue in that Sea, without being eaten vp in that ſtorme, or they themſelues able to endure ſo long time, with ſo ſlender prouiſion as they had, *viz.* onely one Gammon of Bacon and thirtie pound of Bisket for eighteene men. Our Captaine replyed, that they were better prouided then himſelfe was, who had but one Gammon of Bacon, and fortie pound of Bisket for his twentie foure men: and therefore hee doubted not but they would take ſuch part as hee did, and willingly depend vpon Gods Almightie prouidence, which neuer faileth them that truſt in him: with that he hoyſed his fore-ſaile, and ſet his courſe for *Corizao*, which the reſt perceiuing, with ſorrowfull hearts in reſpect of the weake Pinnace, yet deſirous to follow their Captaine, conſented to take the ſame courſe.

Wee had not ſailed paſt three leagues, but we had eſpied a ſaile plying to the Weſtward with her two courſes, to our great ioy, who vowed together, that wee would haue

haue her, or elſe it ſhould coſt vs deare. Bearing with her, we found her to be a Spaniſh ſhip of aboue ninetie Tun, which being wheaued a maine by vs, deſpiſed our ſummons, and ſhot off her Ordnance at vs.

The Sea went verie high, ſo that it was not for vs, to attempt to boord her, and therefore wee made fit ſmall ſaile to attend vpon her, and keepe her company to her ſmall content, till fairer weather might lay the Sea. We ſpent not paſt two houres in our attendance, till it pleaſed God, after a great ſhower to ſend vs a reaſonable calme, ſo that we might vſe our Peeces, and approach her at pleaſure, in ſuch ſort, that in ſhort time wee had taken her, finding her laden with victuall well powdred and dryed, which at that preſent wee receiued, as ſent vs of Gods great mercie.

After all things were ſet in order, and that the winde increaſed toward night, wee plyed off and on till day, at what time our Captaine ſent in *Edward Hixom*, who had then charge of his Pinnace, to ſearch out ſome Harbour along the Coaſt: who hauing found out a little one, ſome ten or twelue leagues to the Eaſt of *Santa Martha*, where in ſounding he had good ground and ſufficient water, preſently returned, & our Captaine brought in his new Prize. Then by promiſing libertie, and all their apparrell to the Spanyards which we had taken, if they would bring vs to water and freſh victuals, the rather by their meanes, wee obtained of the inhabitants Indians, what they had which was plentifull. Theſe Indians were clothed, and gouerned by a *Spaniard* which dwelt in the next Towne, not paſt a league off: we ſtayed there all day, watering and wooding, and prouiding things neceſſarie, by giuing content & ſatisfaction to the Indians. But towards night our Captaine called all of vs aboord, (only leauing the Spaniards lately taken in the Prize aſhoare, according to our *Nouem.* 13.

promiſe made them, to their great content, who acknowledged that our Captaine did them a farre greater fauour, in ſetting them freely at libertie, then hee had done them diſpleaſure in taking their ſhip) and ſo ſet ſaile.

The ſickneſſe which had begun to kindle amongſt vs two or three dayes before, did this day ſhew it ſelfe in *Charles Glub*, one of our Quarter-maſters, a verie tall man, and a right good Mariner, taken away to the great griefe both of Captaine and Company. What the cauſe of this malady was, wee knew not of certaintie, wee imputed it to the cold which our men had taken, lying without ſuccour in the Pinnaces. But howſoeuer it was, thus it pleaſed God to viſit vs, and yet in fauour to reſtore vnto health, all the reſt of our Company, that were touched with this diſeaſe, which were not a few.

Nouem. 15. The next morning being faire weather, though the winde continued contrarie, our Captaine commanded the *Minion* his leſſer Pinnace, to haſten away before him towards his ſhips at *Fort Diego* within the *Cabezas* to carrie newes of his comming, and to put all things in a readineſſe for our Land journey, if they heare any thing of the Fleets arriuall by the *Symerons*, giuing the *Minion* charge if they wanted wine, to take *Saint Bernards* in their way, and there take in ſome ſuch portion as they thought good, of the wines which wee had there hidden in the ſand.

Nouem. 22. We plyed to windwards, as neere as we could, ſo that within a ſeuen-night after the *Minion* departed from vs, we came to *Saint Bernards*, where we ſtaied many houres, finding but twelue Botijos of wine, of all the ſtore wee left, which had eſcaped the curious ſearch of the Enemy (who had beene there) for that they were deepe in the ground.

Within

Within foure or fiue dayes after, we came to our Ship, *Nouem.* 27. where we found all other things in good order, but receiued very heauie newes of the death of *Iohn Drake* our Captaines bother, and another young man called *Richard Allen* which were both slaine at one time, as they attempted the boarding of a Frigate within two dayes after our departing from them.

The manner of it (as we learned by examination of the Companie) was this: when they saw this Frigate at sea, (as they were going towards their Fort with plancks to make the Platformes) the Company were very importunate on him, to giue chase and set vpon this Frigate, which they deemed had beene a fit booty for them. But he told them, that they wanted weapons to assaile, they knew not how the Frigate was prouided, they had their boat loaden with plancks, to finish that his brother had commanded. But when this would not satisfie them, but that still they vrged him with words and suppofals: If you will needes said he aduenture, it shall neuer be said that I will be hindermost, neither shall you report to my Brother, that you lost your voyage by any cowardise you found in me.

Thereupon euery man shifted as they might for the time: and heauing their planckes ouer board, tooke them such poore weapons as they had: *viz.* a broken pointed Rapier, one old Visgee and a rustie Caliuer: *Iohn Drake* tooke the Rapier, and made a Gantlet of his Pillow, *Richard Allen* the Visegee, both standing in the head of the Pinnace, called the *Eion*, *Robert* tooke the Caliuer and so boarded. But they found the Frigate armed round about with a close fight of hides, full of Pikes and Caliuers, which were discharged in their faces, and deadly wounded those that were in the Fore-ship, *Iohn Drake* in the belly, and *Richard Allen* in the head. But

notwithstanding their wounds, they with Oares shifted off the Pinnace, got cleare of the Frigate, and with all haste recouered their Ship; where within an houre after this young man of great hope, ended his dayes, greatly lamented of all the Company.

Thus hauing moared our Ships fast, our Captaine resolued to keepe himselfe close, without being descried, vntill hee might heare of the comming of the Spanish Fleet, and therefore set no more to Sea, but supplyed his wants, both for his owne Company and the *Symerons*, out of his foresaid Magazine, besides daily out of the woods, with wild Hogges, Pheasants and Guanas; continuing in health (God be praised) all the meane time, which was a moneth at least, till at length about the beginning of Ianuary, halfe a score of our Company fell downe sicke altogether, and the most of them died within two or three dayes: so long that we had thirtie at a time sicke of the *Calenture*, which attached our men, either by reason of the suddaine change from cold to heate, or by reason of brackish water which had beene taken in by one Pinnace, through the sloth of their men in the mouth of the Riuer, not rowing further in where the water was good.

Ian. 3.

Among the rest, *Ioseph Drake* another of his brethren died in our Captaines armes, of the same disease: of which, that the cause might be the better discerned, and consequently remedied, to the releefe of others, by our Captaines appointment he was ript open by the Surgeon, who found, his liuer swolne, his heart as it were sodden, and his guts all faire. This was the first and last experiment that our Captaine, made of Anatomy in this voyage.

The Surgeon that cut him vp, ouer-liued him not past foure dayes, although hee were not toucht with that sickenesse,

ſickeneſſe, of which hee had beene recouered aboue a moneth before: but onely of an ouerbold practiſe which he would needs make vpon himſelfe, by receiuing an ouer-ſtrong purgation of his owne deuice: after which taken, he neuer ſpake, nor his boy recouered the health which he loſt by taſting it, till he ſaw England.

The *Symerons*, who, as is beforeſaid, had beene entertained by our Captaine in September laſt, and vſually repaired to our Ship, during all the time of our abſence, ranged the Country vp and downe, betweene *Nombre de Dios* and vs, to learne what they might for vs: whereof they gaue our Captaine aduertiſement from time, to time, as now particularly, certaine of them let him vnderſtand, that the Fleete was certainely arriued at *Nombre de Dios*.

Therefore he ſent the *Lyon*, to the ſeamoſt Iland of the *Catiuaas*, to diſcry the truth of the report: by reaſon it muſt needs be, that if the Fleet were in *Nombre de Dios* all the Frigates of the Countrey would repaire thitherwards with victuall. *Ian.* 30.

The *Lyon* within few dayes deſcried that ſhe was ſent for, eſpying a Frigate which ſhe preſently boarded and tooke, laden with *Maiz*, Hens, and Pompions from *Tolon*, who aſſured vs of the whole truth, of the arriuall of the Fleete: in this Frigate were taken one woman and twelue men, of whom one was the *Scriuano* of *Tolon*. Theſe wee vſed very courteouſly, keeping them diligently guarded from the deadly hatred of the *Symerons*, who ſought daily by all meanes they could to get them of our Captaine, that they might cut their throates, to reuenge their wrongs and iniuries, which the Spaniſh Nation had done them: but our Captaine perſwaded them not to touch them, or giue them ill countenance, while they were in his charge: and

tooke

tooke order for their safetie, not onely in his presence, but also in his absence. For when he had prepared to take his iourney for *Panama* by land, he gaue *Ellis Hixom* charge of his owne Ship and Company, and especially of those Spaniards whom he had put into the great Prize, which was haled a shoare to the Iland, (which we termed slaughter Iland, because so many of our men died there) and vsed as a store-house for our selues, and a prison for our Enemies.

All things thus ordered, our Captaine conferring with his Companie and the Chiefest of the *Symerons*, what prouisions were to be prepared for this great and long iourney, what kinde of weapons, what store of victuals, and what manner of apparell: was especially aduised, to carrie as great store of Shooes as possibly he might, by reason of so many Riuers, with stones and grauell as they were to passe, which accordingly prouiding, prepared his Company for that iourney, entring it vpon Shroue-tuesday. At what time there had died twentie eight of our men, and a few whole men were left aboard with *Ellis Hixom*, to keepe the Ship and tend the sicke, and guard the prisoners. *Feb.* 3.

At his departure our Captaine gaue this Master straight charge, in any case not to trust any messenger, that should come in his name with any tokens, vnlesse he brought his hand writing: which he knew could not be counterfeited, by the *Symerons* or *Spaniards*.

We were in all fortie eight, of which eighteene onely were English, the rest were *Symerons*, which besides their Armes, bare euery one of them, a great quantity of victuall & prouision, supplying our want of cariages in so long a march, so that we were not troubled with any thing but our furniture. And because they could not carrie enough to suffice vs altogether, therefore, as they promised before

before, ſo by the way with their arrowes, they prouided for vs competent ſtore from time to time.

They haue euerie one of them two ſorts of arrowes, the one to defend himſelfe and offend the enemy, the other to kill his victuals. Theſe for fight are ſomewhat like the Scottiſh Arrow; onely ſomewhat longer, and headed with iron, wood, or fiſh-bones. But the Arrowes for prouiſion are of three ſorts, the firſt ſerueth to kill any great Beaſt neere hand, as Oxe, Stag, or wilde Boare: this hath a head of iron of a pound and a halfe weight, ſhaped in forme like the head of a jauelin or Boare-ſpeare, as ſharpe as any knife, making ſo large and deepe a wound, as can hardly be beleeued of him that hath not ſeene it. The ſecond ſerueth for leſſer Beaſts, and hath a head of three quarters of a pound: this he moſt vſually ſhooteth. The third ſerueth for all manner of Birds: it had a head of an ounce weight. And theſe heads, though they bee of iron onely, yet are they ſo cunningly tempered, that they will continue a verie good edge a long time: and though they bee turned ſometimes, yet they will neuer or ſeldome breake. The neceſſitie in which they ſtand hereof continually, cauſeth them to haue iron in farre greater account then gold: and no man among them is of greater eſtimation, then hee that can moſt perfectly giue this temper vnto it.

Euerie day we were marching by Sun-riſing, we continued till ten in the forenoone, then reſting (euer neere ſome riuer) till paſt twelue, wee marched till foure, and then by ſome riuers ſide, wee repoſed our ſelues in ſuch houſes, as either we found prepared heretofore by them, when they trauelled thorow theſe woods, or they daily built verie readily for vs, in this manner.

As ſoone as wee came to the place, where we intended to lodge, the *Symerons*, preſently laying downe their

burthens, fell to cutting of forkes or poſts, and poles or rafters, and Palmito boughes, or Plantaine leaues, and with great ſpeed ſet vp, to the number of ſix houſes. For euerie of which, they firſt faſtned deepe into the ground, three or foure great poſts with forkes: vpon them they layd one Tranſome, which was commonly about twentie foot, and made the ſides in the manner of the roofes of our Countrey houſes, thatching it cloſe with thoſe aforeſayd leaues, which keepe out water a long time: obſeruing alwayes that in the lower ground, where greater heat was, they left ſome three or foure foot open vnthacht below, and made the houſes, or rather roofes, ſo many foot the higher. But in the hils, where the aire was more peircing, and the nights colder, they made our roomes alwayes lower, and thatched them cloſe to the ground, leauing onely one doore to enter at, and a louer-hole for a vent, in the middeſt of the roofe. In euerie of theſe they made foure ſeuerall lodgings, and three fires, one in the middeſt, and one at each end of euerie houſe: ſo that the roome was moſt temperately warme, and nothing annoyed with ſmoake, partly by reaſon of the nature of the wood, which they vſe to burne, yeelding verie little ſmoake, partly by reaſon of their artificiall making of it: as firing the wood cut in length like our billets, at the ends, and ioyning them together ſo cloſe, that though no flame or fire did appeare, yet the heat continued without intermiſſion.

Neere many of the riuers where wee ſtayed or lodged, we found ſundry ſorts of fruits, which we might vſe with great pleaſure and ſafetie temperately, *Mammeas*, *Guyauas*, *Palmitos*, *Pinos*, *Oranges*, *Limons*, and diuers other; from eating of which they diſſwaded vs in any caſe, vnleſſe we eat verie few of them, and thoſe firſt dry roſted, as *Plantans*, *Potatos*, and ſuch like.

In iourneying, as oft as by chance they found any wilde Swine, of which thoſe hills and valleyes haue ſtore, they would ordinarily, ſix at a time, deliuer their burthens to the reſt of their fellowes, and purſue, kill, and bring away after vs, as much as they could carrie, and time permitted, One day as wee trauelled, the *Symerons* found an Otter, and prepared it to bee dreſt: our Captaine maruelling at it, *Pedro* (our cheefe *Symeron*) asked him, *Are you a man of warre, and in want, and yet doubt whether this bee meat that hath bloud?* Herewithall our Captaine rebuked himſelfe ſecretly, that he had ſo ſlightly conſidered of it before.

The third day of our iourney, they brought vs to a Towne of their owne, ſeated neere a faire riuer, on the ſide of a hill, enuironed with a dike of eight foot broad, and a thicke mud wall of ten foot high, ſufficient to ſtop a ſudden ſurprizer. It had one long and broad ſtreet, lying Eaſt and Weſt, and two other croſſe ſtreets of leſſe bredth and length: there were in it ſome fiue or ſix and fiftie houſeholds, which were kept ſo cleane and ſweet, that not only the houſes, but the verie ſtreets were verie pleaſant to behold. In this Towne we ſaw they liued verie ciuilly and cleanely: for as ſoone as wee came thither, they waſhed themſelues in the riuer, and changed their apparrel, which was verie fine and fitly made (as alſo their women doe weare) ſomewhat after the Spaniſh faſhion, though nothing ſo coſtly. This Towne is diſtant thirtie fiue leagues from *Nombre de Dios*, and fortie fiue from *Panama*. It is plentifully ſtored with many ſorts of Beaſts and Fowle, with plentie of Maiz and ſundry fruits.

Touching their affection in religion, they haue no kinde of Prieſts, onely they held the Croſſe in great reputation: but at our Captaines perſwaſion, they were contented to leaue their Croſſes, and to learne the Lords

prayer, and to be instructed in some measure concerning Gods true worship. They keepe a continuall watch in foure parts, three miles off their Towne, to preuent the mischiefes which the *Spaniards* intend against them, by the conducting of some of their owne coats, which hauing beene taken by the *Spaniards*, haue beene enforced thereunto: wherein, as we learned, sometimes the Spaniards haue preuailed ouer them, specially when they liued lesse carefull; but since they against the Spaniards, whom they kil like beasts, as often as they take them in the woods, hauing aforehand vnderstood of their comming.

Feb. 7. We stayed with them that night, and the next day till noone: during which time they related vnto vs diuers verie strange accidents, that had fallen out between them and the Spaniards, namely one: A gallant Gentleman entertained by the Gouernours of the Countrey, vndertooke the yeere last past, with a hundred and fiftie Souldiers, to put this Towne to the sword, men, women, and children, being conducted to it by one of them, that had beene taken prisoner, and won by great gifts: hee surprised it halfe an houre before day, by which occasion most of the men escaped, but many of their women and children were slaughtered, or taken: but the same morning by Sun rising, after that their Guide was slaine, in following another mans wife; and that the *Symerons* had assembled themselues in their strength, they behaued themselues in such sort, and draue the Spaniards to such extremitie, that what with the disaduantage of the woods, hauing lost their Guide, and thereby their way, what with famine and want, there escaped not past thirtie of them, to returne answer to those which sent them.

Their King dwelt in a Citie within sixteene leagues Southeast of *Panama*, which is able to make one thousand seuen hundred fighting men.

They

They all intreated our Captaine very earneſtly, to make his aboade with them ſome two or three dayes, promiſing that by that time, they would double his ſtrength if he thought good. But he thanking them for their offer, told them, that he could ſtay no longer, it was more then time to proſecute his purpoſed voyage: as for ſtrength, he would wiſh no more then he had, although he might haue preſently twentie times aſmuch: which they tooke as proceeding not onely from kindneſſe, but alſo from magnanimitie, and therefore, they marched foorth that afternoone with great good will.

This was the order of our march: Foure of thoſe *Symerons* that beſt knew the wayes, went about a mile diſtance before vs, breaking boughes as they went; to be a direction to thoſe that followed: but with great ſilence, which they required vs alſo to keepe. Then twelue of them were as it were our Vantgard, and other twelue our Reereward: wee with their two Captaines in the midſt.

All the way was thorow woods very coole and pleaſant, by reaſon of thoſe goodly and high Trees, that grow there ſo thicke, that it is cooler trauelling there vnder them in that hot region, then it is in the moſt parts of England in the Summer time. This gaue a ſpeciall encouragement vnto vs all, that we vnderſtood there was a great Tree about the midway, from which, we might at once diſcerne the North ſea from whence we came, and the South ſea whether we were going.

The fourth day following we came to the height of the deſired Hill, (a very high Hill, lying Eaſt and Weſt, like a ridge betweene the two Seas) about tenne of the clocke: where the chiefeſt of theſe *Symerons* tooke our Captaine by the hand, and prayed him to follow him, *Feb.* 11.

if he was desirous to see at once the two Seas: which he had so long longed for.

Here was that goodly and great high Tree, in which they had cut and made diuers steps, to ascend vp neere vnto the top, where they had made a conuenient Bower, wherein tenne or twelue men might easily sit: and from thence we might without any difficulty plainly see, *th' Atlantick* Ocean whence now we came, & the south *Atlanticke* so much desired: South and North of this Tree, they had felled certaine Trees, that the prospect might bee the cleerer: and neere about the Tree there were diuers strong houses, that had beene built long before, as well by other *Symerons* as by these: which vsually passe that way, as being inhabited in diuers places in those waste Countries.

After our Captaine had ascended to this Bower, with the chiefe *Symeron*, and hauing as it pleased God, at that time, by reason of the brize, a very faire day, had seene that sea, of which he had heard such golden reports: hee besought Almightie God of his goodnesse, to giue him life and leaue to sayle once in an English Ship in that sea: and then calling vp all the rest of our men, acquainted *Iohn Oxnam* especially with this his petition and purpose, if it would please God to grant him that happinesse: who vnderstanding it, presently protested, that vnlesse our Captaine did beate him from his company, he would follow him by Gods grace.

Thus all throughly satisfied with the sight of the seas, descended, and after our repast, continued our ordinary *Feb.* 13. march, through woods, yet two dayes more as before: without any great varietie. But then we came to march in a Champion Country, where the grasse groweth, not only in great length as the knotgrasse groweth in many places, but

but to ſuch height, that the inhabitants are faine to burne it thriſe in the yeere, that it may bee able to feede their Cattle, of which they haue thouſands. For it is a kinde of graſſe with a ſtalke, as big as a great wheaten reed, which hath a blade iſſuing from the top of it, on which, though the cattle feed, yet it groweth euery day higher, vntill the top be too high for an Oxe to reach. Then the inhabitants are wont to put fire to it, for the ſpace of fiue or ſixe miles together, which notwithſtanding after it is thus burnt, within three dayes ſpringeth vp freſh like greene corne. Such is the great fruitfulneſſe of the ſoyle: by reaſon of the eeuenneſſe of the day and night, and the rich dewes which fall euery morning.

In theſe three laſt dayes march in the Champion, as we paſt ouer the hilles, we might ſee *Panama* fiue or ſixe times a day, & the laſt day we ſaw the Ships riding in the roade. *Feb.* 14.

But after that we were come within a dayes iourney of *Panama*, our Captaine vnderſtanding by the *Symerons* that the Dames of *Panama* are wont to ſend forth Hunters, and Fowlers, for taking of ſundry daintie Fowle, which the Land yeeldeth, by whom if we marched not very heedefully, wee might be deſcried; cauſed all his company to march out of all ordinary way, and that with as great heed, ſilence and ſecrecie, as poſſibly they might, to the Groue, which was agreed on foure dayes before, lying within a league of *Panama*, where wee might lie ſafely vndiſcouered neare the high way, that leadeth from thence to *Nombre de Dios*.

Thence wee ſent a choſen *Symeron*, one that had ſerued a Maſter in *Panamah* before time, in ſuch apparell as the *Negroes* of *Panamah* doe vſe to warre, to be our Eſpiall, to go into the Towne, to learne the certaine night, and time of the night, when the Carriers laded

laded the Treasure from the Kings Treasure-house to *Nombre de Dios*.

For they are wont to take their iourney from *Panama* to *Venta Cruz*, which is sixe leagues, euer by night, because the Countrey is all champion, and consequently by day very hot: but from *Venta Cruz* to *Nombre de Dios*, as oft as they trauell by land with their Treasure, they trauell alwayes by day and not by night, because all that way is full of woods, and therefore very fresh and coole: vnlesse the *Symerons* happily encounter them, and make them sweate with feare, as sometimes they haue done: whereupon they are glad to guard their *Recoes* with Souldiers as they passe that way.

This last day our Captaine did behold and view, the most of all that faire Citie, discerning the large streete which lieth directly from the sea into the land, South and North. By three of the clocke we came into this Groue, passing (for the more secrecie) alongst a certaine Riuer, which at that time was almost dryed vp.

Hauing disposed of our selues in the Groue, wee dispatched our Spie an houre before night, so that by the closing in of the euening; he might be in the Citie: as hee was: whence presently he returned vnto vs, that which very happily he vnderstood by companions of his: That the Treasurer of *Lima*, intending to passe into *Spaine* in the first *aduiso*, (which was a Ship of three hundred and fifty Tunne, a very good Sayler) was ready that night, to take his iourney towards *Nombre de Dios*, with his Daughter and Family, hauing foureteene Moyles in company, of which, eight was laden with gold, & one with iewels. And farther, that there were two other *Recos*, of fiftie Moyles in each, laden with victuals for the most part, with some little quantitie of siluer, to come forth that night after the

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other. There are twentie eight of theſe *Recos*, the greateſt of them is of ſeauentie Moyles, the leſſe of fiftie, vnleſſe ſome particular man hire for himſelfe, ten, twenty or thirty, as he hath need.

Vpon this notice, we forthwith marcht foure leagues; till we came within two leagues of *Venta Cruz*, in which march two of our *Symerons* which were ſent before, by ſcent of his match, found and brought a Spaniard whom they had found a ſleepe by the way, by ſcent of the ſaid match, and drawing neere thereby, heard him taking his breath as he ſlept; and being but one, they fell vpon him, ſtopt his mouth from crying, put out his match, and bound him ſo, that they well neare ſtrangled him by that time he was brought vnto vs. By examining him, we found all that to be true, which our Spie had reported to vs, and that he was a Souldier entertained with others by the Treaſurer, for the guard and conduct of this Treaſure, from *Venta Cruz* to *Nombre de Dios*.

This Souldier hauing learned who our Captaine was, tooke courage and was bold to make two requeſts vnto him: the one, that he would command his *Symerons* which hated the Spaniards (eſpecially the Souldiers) extreamely, to ſpare his life, which he doubted not but they would do at his charge: the other was, that ſeeing he was a Souldier, and aſſured him, that they ſhould haue that night, more gold, beſides iewels, and pearles of great price, then all they could carrie (if not, then he was to be dealt with how they would) but if they all found it ſo, then it might pleaſe our Captaine to giue vnto him, as much as it might ſuffice for him and his Miſtreſſe to liue vpon, as he had heard our Captaine had done to diuers others: for which he would make his name ſo famous, as any of them, which had receiued like fauour.

Being at the place appointed, our Captaine with halfe of his men, lay on one ſide of the way, about fiftie paces off in the long graſſe: *Iohn Oxnam* with the Captaine of the *Symerons*, and the other halfe, lay on the other ſide of the way, at the like diſtance: but ſo farre behind, that as occaſion ſerued, the former Company might take the formoſt Moyles by the heads, and the other the hindmoſt, becauſe the Moyles tyed together, are alwayes driuen one after another; ad eſpecially that if we ſhould haue need to vſe our weapons that night, we might be ſure not to endamage our fellowes. We had not laine thus in ambuſh much aboue an houre, but we heard the *Recos* comming from the Citie to *Venta Cruz*, and from *Venta Cruz* to the Citie, which hath a very common and great trade, when the Fleetes are there: we heard them, by reaſon they delight much to haue deepe ſounding Belles, which in a ſtill night are heard very farre off.

Now though there were as great charge giuen as might be, that none of our men ſhould ſhow or ſtirre themſelues: but let all that came from *Venta Cruz* to paſſe quietly: yea their *Recos* alſo, becauſe we knew that they brought nothing but Marchandiſe from thence: yet one of our men called *Robert Pike*, hauing drunken too much *Aqua vitæ* without water, forgat himſelfe, and entiſing a *Symeron* forth with him, was gone hard to the way, with intent to haue ſhewne his forwardneſſe on the foremoſt Moyles. And when a Caualier from *Venta Cruz*, well mounted, with his Page running at his ſtirrop, paſt by vnaduiſedly he roſe vp to ſee what he was: but the *Symeron* of better diſcretion puld him downe, and lay vpon him, that he might not diſcouer them any more. Yet by this the Gentleman had taking notice by

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ſeeing one all in white: for that we had all put our ſhirts ouer our other apparell, that we might be ſure to know our owne men in the pell mell in the night. By meanes of this ſight, the Cauelier putting ſpurs to his horſe, rode a falſe gallop, as deſirous not onely himſelfe to be free of this doubt; which he imagined, but alſo to giue aduertiſement to others that they might auoid it.

Our Captaine who had heard and obſerued (by reaſon of the hardneſſe of the ground and ſtilneſſe of the the night) the change of this Gentlemans trot to a gallop, ſuſpected that he was diſcouered, but could not imagine by whoſe fault, neither did the time giue him leaſure to ſearch. And therefore conſidering that it might bee, by reaſon of the danger of the place, well knowne to ordinary Trauellers: we lay ſtill in expectation of the Treaſurers comming, who was by this time within halfe a league, and had come forwards to vs, but that this Horſeman meeting him, and (as wee afterwards learned by the other *Recoes*) making report to him, what he had ſeene preſently that night, what he heard of Captaine *Drake* this long time, and what he coniectured to be moſt likely: *viz.* that the ſaid Captaine *Drake*, or ſome for him, diſappointed of his expectation, of getting any great Treaſure, both at *Nombre de Dios* and other places, was by ſome meanes or other come by land, in couert thorow the woods vnto this place to ſpeed for his purpoſe: and thereupon perſwaded him to turne his *Reco* out of the way, and let the other *Recoes*, which were comming after to paſſe on. They were whole *Recoes*, and loaden but with victuals for the moſt part, ſo that the loſſe of them were farre leſſe if the worſt befell, and yet they ſhould ſerue to diſcouer them as well as the beſt.

Thus by the rechleſneſſe of on of our Company, and by the carefulneſſe of this Traueller, wee were diſappointed of a moſt rich bootie, which is to be thought God would not ſhould be taken, for that by all likelihood it was well gotten by that Treaſurer.

The other two *Recoes* were no ſooner come vp to vs, but being ſtayed and ſeaſed on, one of the cheeſe Carriers a very ſenſible fellow, told our Captaine by what meanes wee were diſcouered, and counſelled vs to ſhift for our ſelues betimes, vnleſſe we were able to encounter the whole force of the Citie and Countrie which before day would be about vs.

It pleaſed vs but little, that we were defeated of our golden *Recoe*,& that in theſe we could find not paſt ſome two Horſe-loade of ſiluer: but it grieued our Captaine much more, that he was diſcouered, and that by one of his owne men. But knowing it bootleſſe to grieue at things paſt, and hauing learned by experience, that all ſafetie in extreamities conſiſteth in taking of time: after no long conſultation with *Pedro* the chiefe of our *Symerons*, who declared that there were but two wayes for him: the one to trauell backe againe the ſame ſecret way they came, for foure leagues ſpace into the Woods: or elſe to march forward, by the high way to *Venta Cruz*, being two leagues, and make a way with his Sword thorow the Enemies. He reſolued, conſidering the long and wearie marches that wee had taken, and chiefely that laſt euening and day before: to take now the ſhorteſt and readieſt way; as chooſing rather to encounter his Enemies while he had ſtrength remaining, then to be encountred or chaſed when wee ſhould bee worne out with wearineſſe: principally now hauing the Moyles, to eaſe them that would, ſome part of the way.

Therefore

Therefore commanding all to refreſh themſelues moderately with ſuch ſtore of victuall, as wee had there in aboundance, he ſignified his reſolution and reaſon to them all: asking *Pedro* by name, whether he would giue his hand not to forſake him (becauſe hee knew that the reſt of the *Symerons* would alſo then ſtand faſt and firme, ſo faithfull are they to their Captaine.) He being very glad of his reſolution, gaue our Captaine his hand, and vowed that hee would rather die at his foote, then leaue him to the Enemies, if he held this courſe.

So hauing ſtrengthned our ſelues for the time, we tooke our iourney towards *Venta Cruz*, with helpe of the Moyles, till we came within a mile of the Towne, where we turned away the *Recoes*, charging the Conducters of them, not to follow vs, vpon paine of their liues.

There the way is cut thorow the Woods, about ten or twelue foote broade, ſo as two *Recoes* may paſſe one by another. The fruitfulneſſe of the ſoyle cauſeth, that with often ſhredding and ridding the way thoſe Woods grow as thicke as our thickeſt hedges in *England* that are oftneſt cut.

To the midſt of this Wood, a Company of Souldiers, which continually lay in that Towne, to defend it againſt the *Symerons* were come forth, to ſtop vs if they might on the way, if not, to retrait to their ſtrength, and there to expect vs. A Conuent of Friers of whom one was become a Leader, ioyned with theſe Souldiers, to take ſuch part as they did.

Our Captaine vnderſtanding by our two *Symerons*, which with great heedfulneſſe and ſilence, marched now, but aboue halfe a flight-ſhot before vs, that it was

time for vs to arme and take vs to our weapons, for they knew the enemy was at hand, by ſmelling of their match and hearing of a noyſe: had giuen vs charge, that no one of vs ſhould make any ſhot, vntill the Spaniards had firſt ſpent their volly which he thought they would not doe before they had ſpoken, as indeed fell out: For as ſoone as we were within hearing, a Spaniſh Captaine cried aloud, Hóó, our Captaine anſwered him likewiſe, and being demanded, *Que gente?* replied *Engliſhmen*. But when the ſaid Commander charged him in the name of the King of *Spaine* his Maſter, that we ſhould yeeld our ſelues, promiſing in the word and faith of a Gentleman Souldier, that if he would ſo do, he would vſe vs with all courteſie; our Captaine drawing ſomewhat neere him ſaid: That for the honour of the Queene of *England* his his Miſtreſſe, he muſt haue paſſage that way: and therewithall diſcharged his Piſtoll towards him.

Vpon this, they preſently ſhot off their whole volly, which, though it lightly wounded our Captaine and diuers of our men, yet it cauſed death to one only of our Company called *Iohn Harris*, who was ſo poudered with haile-ſhot (which they all vſed for the moſt part as it ſeemed, or elſe quartered, for that our men were hurt with that kinde) that wee could not recouer his life, though he continued all that day afterwards with vs. Preſently as our Captaine perceiued their ſhot to come ſlacking, as the latter drops of a great ſhewre of raine; with his Whiſtle he gaue vs his vſuall ſignall, to anſwer them with our ſhot and arrowes, and ſo march onwards vpon the Enemie, with intent to come to handi-ſtrokes, and to haue ioyned with them: whom when he found retired as to a place of ſome better ſtrength, he encreaſed his pace to preuent them if he might. Which the

Symerons

Symerons perceiuing, although by terror of the ſhot continuing, they were for the time ſtept a ſide: yet as ſoone as they diſcerned by hearing that we marched onward, they all ruſht forwards one after another, trauerſing the way, with their Arrowes ready in their Bowes, and their manner of Country dance or leape, very luſtily, ſinging *Yópehó, Yópehó*, and ſo got before vs, where they continued their leape and ſong, after the manner of their owne Country warres till they and we ouer-tooke ſome of the Enemie, who neere the Townes end had conueied themſelues within the Woods, to haue taken their ſtand at vs, as before.

But our *Symerons* now throughly encouraged, when they ſaw our reſolution, brake in thorow the thickſt, on both ſides of them, forcing them to flye, Fryers and all, although diuers of our men were wounded, and one *Symeron* eſpecially was runne thorow with one of their Pikes, whoſe courage and mind ſerued him ſo well notwithſtanding, that he reuenged his owne death ere hee died, by killing him that had giuen him that deadly wound.

We with all ſpeed, following this chaſe, entred the Towne of *Venta Cruz*, being of about fortie or fiftie houſes, which had both a Gouernour and other Officers and ſome faire houſes, with many Store-houſes large and ſtrong for the Warres, which were brought thither from *Nombre de Dios*, by the Riuer of *Chagro*, ſo to be tranſported by Moyles to *Panama* beſides the Monaſterie where we found aboue a thouſand Bulles and Pardons newly ſent thither from Rome.

In thoſe houſes wee found three Gentlewomen, which had lately beene deliuered of Children there, though their dwelling were in *Nombre de Dios*, becauſe it

it hath beene obſerued of long time, as they reported to vs, that no *Spaniards* or White woman could euer be deliuered in *Nombre de Dios* with ſafetie of their children, but that within two or three dayes they died; notwithſtanding that being borne and brought vp in this *Venta Cruz* or *Panama* fiue or ſixe yeares, and then brought to *Nombre de Dios*, if they eſcaped ſickneſſe the firſt or ſecond moneth, they commonly liued in it as healthily as in any other place: although no ſtranger (as they ſay) can endure there any long time, without great danger of death or extreame ſickneſſe.

Though at our firſt comming into the Towne with Armes ſo ſuddenly, theſe Gentlewomen were in great feare: yet becauſe our Captaine had giuen ſtrait charge to all the *Symerons* (that while they were in his companie, they ſhould neuer hurt any woman, nor man that had not weapon in his hand to doe them hurt, which they earneſtly promiſed, and no leſſe faithfully performed) they had no wrong offered them, not any thing taking from them, to the worth of a garter: wherein, albeit they had indeed ſufficient ſafetie and ſecuritie, by thoſe of his company, which our Captaine ſent vnto them, of purpoſe to comfort them: yet they neuer ceaſed moſt earneſtly intreating, that our Captaine would vouchſafe to come to them himſelfe for their more ſafetie: which when he did, in their preſence reporting the charge he had firſt giuen, and the aſſurance of his men, they were comforted.

While the Guards which we had (not without great neede) ſet, as well on the bridge which we were to paſſe ouer, as at the Townes end where wee entred (they haue no other entrance into the Towne by Land: but from the waters ſide there is one other, to carrie vp and downe

downe their Merchandiſe from their Frigates) gained vs libertie and quiet to ſtay in this Towne ſome houre and halfe: we had not onely refreſhed our ſelues, but our company and *Symerons* had gotten ſome good pillage, which our Captaine allowed and gaue them (being not the thing he looked for) ſo that it were not too cumberſome or heauie in reſpect of our trauell, or defence of our ſelues. A little before we departed, ſome ten or twelue horſemen came from *Panama* by all likelihood, ſuppoſing that we were gone out of this Towne, for that all was ſo ſtill and quiet, came to enter the Towne confidently: but finding their entertainement ſuch as it was, they that could, rode faſter backe againe for feare, then they had ridden forwards for hope.

Thus we hauing ended our buſineſſe in this Towne, and the day beginning to ſpring, we marched ouer the Bridge, obſeruing the ſame order that wee did before. There we were all ſafe in our opinion, as if we had beene enuironed with Wall and Trench: for that no *Spaniard* without his extreame danger could follow vs. The rather now, for that our *Symerons* were growne very valiant. But our Captaine conſidering that he had a long way to paſſe, & that he had bin now well neere fortnight from his Ship, where he had left his Company but weake by reaſon of their ſickneſſe, haſtned his iourneies as much as he might, refuſing to viſit the other *Symeron* Townes (which they earneſtly deſired him) and encouraging his owne Companie with ſuch example and ſpeech, that the way ſeemed much ſhorter. For he marched moſt cheerefully and aſſured vs, that he doubted not but ere he left that Coaſt, we ſhould all be bountifully paid and recompenſed for all thoſe paines taken: but by reaſon of this our Captaines haſte, and leauing

of their Townes, wee marched many dayes with hungry ſtomackes, much againſt the will of our *Symerons*: Who if we would haue ſtayed any day from this continuall iourneying, would haue killed for vs victuall ſufficient.

In our abſence, the reſt of the *Symerons* had built a little Towne within three leagues off the port where our Ship lay. There our Captaine was contented, vpon their great and earneſt intreaties to make ſome ſtay, for that they alleadged, it was onely built for his ſake. And indeed hee conſented the rather, that the want of ſhooes might be ſupplied by meanes of the *Symerons*, who were a great helpe vnto vs: all our men complayning of the tendernes of their feete, whom our Captaine would himſelfe in their complaint accompany ſometimes without cauſe, but ſometimes with cauſe indeed, which made the reſt to beare the burthen the more eaſily.

Theſe *Symerons* during all the time that wee were with them, did vs continually very good ſeruice, and in particular in this iourney, being vnto vs inſteed of intelligencers, to aduertiſe vs; of guides in our way to direct vs; of purueiors to prouide victualls for vs; of houſewrights to build our lodgings; and had indeed able and ſtrong bodies carying all our neceſſaries, yea many times when ſome of our company fainted with ſickneſſe or wearineſſe, two *Symerons* would carrie him with eaſe betweene them two miles together, and at other times when need was they would ſhew themſelues no leſſe valiant then induſtrious and of good iudgement.

Feb. 22. From this Towne, at our firſt entrance in the euen on Saterday, our Captaine diſpatched a *Symeron* with a token and certaine order to the Maſter, who had this

this three weekes, kept good watch against the enemie, and shifted in the woods for fresh victuall, for the releefe and recouery of our men left aboord. Assoone as this messenger was come to the shoare, calling to our Ship, as bringing some newes, he was quickly fet aboord, by those which longed to here of our Captaines speeding: but when he shewed the tooth-pike of gold, which hee said our Captaine had sent for a token to *Edward Hixom*, with charge to meete him at such a Riuer: though the Master knew well the Captaines Tooth-pike: yet by reason of his admonition and caueat giuen him at parting, he (though he bewrayed no signe of distrusting the *Symeron*) yet stood as amazed, least something had befallen our Captaine otherwise then well. The *Symeron* perceiuing this, told him, that it was night when he was sent away, so that our Captaine could not send any letter, but yet with the point of his knife, hee wrote something vpon the Toothpike, which (hee said) should bee sufficient to gaine credit to the messenger.

Thereupon the Master lookt vpon it, and saw written *By me Francis Drake*, wherefore hee beleeued, and according to the message, prepared what prouision he could, and repaired to the mouth of the Riuer of *Tortugos*, as the *Symerons* that went with him then named it.

That after noone towards three a clocke, wee were come downe to that Riuer, not past halfe an houre, before we saw our Pinnace ready come to receiue vs: which was vnto vs all a double reioycing: first that wee saw them, and next so soone: our Captaine with all our Company praised God most hartily, for that we saw our Pinnace and fellowes againe.

Wee all seemed to these who had liued at rest and plenty all this while aboard, as men strangely changed (our Captaine yet not much changed) in countenance and plight: and indeed our long fasting and sore trauell might somewhat fore-pine and waste vs: but the greefe we drew inwardly, for that we returned without that Gold and Treasure we hoped for, did no doubt shew her print and footesteps in our faces.

The rest of our men which were then missed, could not trauell so well as our Captaine, and therefore were
Feb. 23. left at the Indian new Towne: and the next day we towed to another Riuer in the bottome of the Bay and tooke them all aboord.

Thus being returned from *Panama*, to the great reioycing of our Company, who were throughly reuiued with the report we brought from thence: especially vnderstanding our Captaines purpose, that he meant not to leaue off thus, but would once againe attempt the same iourney, whereof they also might be partakers: our Captaine would not in the meane time suffer this edge and forwardnesse of his men to be dulled or rebated, by lying still idly vnimployed, as knowing right well by continuall experiences, that no sicknesse was more noysome to impeach any enterprise then delay and idlenesse.

Therefore considering deepely the intelligences of other places of importance thereabouts, which hee had gotten the former yeares: and particularly of *Veragua*, a rich Towne lying to the Westward, betweene *Nombre de Dios* and *Nicaragua*, where is the richest Mine of fine Gold, that is on this North side: he consulted with his company touching their opinions, what was to be done in this meane time, and how they stood affected

affected? Some thought, that it was moſt neceſſarie to ſeeke ſupply of victuals, that we might the better be able to keepe our men cloſe and in health till our time came: and this was eaſie to be compaſſed, becauſe the Frigates with victuall went without great defence, whereas the Frigates and Barkes with Treaſure, for the moſt part were wafted with great Ships and ſtore of Souldiers. Others yet iudged, wee might better beſtow our time in intercepting the Frigates of Treaſure: firſt for that our Magaſins and Storehouſes of victuall were reſonably furniſhed, and the Country it ſelfe was ſo plentifull, that euery man might prouide for himſelfe if the worſt befell: and victuall might hereafter be prouided aboundantly as well as now: whereas the Treaſure neuer floteth vpon the Sea, ſo ordinarily as at this time, of the Fleetes being there, which time in no wiſe may be neglected.

The *Symerons* being demanded alſo their opinion, for that they were experienced in the particularities of all the Townes thereabouts, as in which, ſome or other of them had ſerued: declared that by *Veragua Sinnior Pezoro* ſometimes their Maſter from whom they fled, dwelt not in the Towne for feare of ſome ſurpriſe, but yet not farre off from the Towne, for his better releeſe: in a verie ſtrong houſe of ſtone, where he had dwelt nineteene yeares at leaſt, neuer trauelling from home, vnleſſe happily once a yeare to *Carthagene* or *Nombre de Dios* when the Fleets were there: hee keepeth a hundred ſlaues at leaſt in the Mines, each ſlaue being bound to bring in dayly cleare gaine (all charges deducted) three Pezoes of Gold for himſelfe and two for his women (eight ſhillings three pence the Pezo) amounting in the whole, to aboue two hun-

dred pound ſterling each day: ſo that hee hath heaped a mightie Maſſe of Treaſure together, which hee keepeth in certaine great Cheſts of two foote deepe, three broad, and foure long: being, notwithſtanding all his wealth, hard and cruell, not onely to his ſlaues, but vnto all men, and therefore neuer going abroade, but with a Guard of fiue or ſixe men to defend his perſon from danger, which he feareth extraordinarily from all creatures. And as touching meanes of compaſſing this purpoſe, they would conduct him ſafely thorow the woods, by the ſame wayes by which they fled, that he ſhould not need to enter their Hauens with danger, but might come vpon their backes altogether vnlooked for. And though his houſe were of ſtone ſo that it could not be burnt, yet if our Captaine would vndertake the attempt, they would vndermine and ouerthrow, or otherwiſe breake it open, in ſuch ſort as we might haue eaſie acceſſe to his greateſt Treaſure.

Our Captaine hauing heard all their opinions, concluded ſo; that by deuiding his Company the two firſt different ſentences, were both reconciled, both to be practiſed and put in vre. *Iohn Oxnam* appointed in the *Beare*, to be ſent Eaſtwards towards *Tolow*, to ſee what ſtore of victuals would come athwart his halſe, and himſelfe would to the Weſtward in the *Minion*, lie off and on the *Cabezas*, where was the greateſt trade and moſt ordinarie paſſage of thoſe which tranſponted Treaſure from *Veragua* and *Nicaragua* to the Fleet: ſo that no time might bee loſt, nor opportunitie let ſlip either for victuall or Treaſure. As for the attempt of *Veragua* or *Sinior Pezoros* houſe by land, by marching thorow the woods, he liked not of, leaſt it might

ouer weatie his men by continuall labour, whom he studied to refresh and strengthen, for his next seruice forenamed.

Therefore vsing our *Symerons* most courteously, dismissing those that were desirous to go to their wiues, with such gifts and fauors as were most pleasing, and entertaining those still aboord his Ships, which were contented to abide with the Companie remaining, the Pinnaces departed as was determined, the *Minion* to the West, the *Beare* to the East.

The *Minion* about the *Cabezas* met with a Frigate of *Nicaragua*, in which was some gold, and a *Genoway* Pilot, of which Nation there are many in those Coasts, which had beene at *Veragua* not past eight dayes before, he being vere well entreated, certified our Captaine of the State of the Towne, and of the Harbor, and of a Frigate that was there ready to come forth within few dayes, aboard in which there was aboue a million of gold offering to conduct him to it, if wee would do him his right, for that he knew the channell very perfectly, so that he could enter by night safely without danger of the sands and shallowes, (though there bee but little water) and vtterly vndescried, for that the Towne is fiue leagues within the Harbor, and the way by land is so farre about and difficult thorow the woods, that though wee should by any casualtie bee discouered, about the point of the Harbor, yet wee might dispatch our businesse and depart, before the Towne could haue notice of our comming. At his being there hee perceiued they had heard of *Drakes* being on the Coast, which had put them in great feare, as in all other places (*Pezoro* purposing to remoue himselfe to the South Sea) but there was nothing done

to

to preuent him, their frere being ſo great, that, as it is accuſtomed in ſuch caſes, it excluded Counſell and bred deſpaire.

Our Captaine conferring with his owne knowledge and former intelligences, was purpoſed to haue returned to his Ship, to haue taken ſome of thoſe *Symerons* which had dwelt with *Sinior Pezoro*, to be the more confirmed in this point. But when the *Genoway* Pilot was very earneſt, to haue the time gained, and warranted our Captaine of good ſpeed, if wee delaid not, hee dimiſſed the Frigates ſomewhat lighter, to haſten her iourney, and with this Pilots aduiſe, laboured with ſayle and oares to get this Harbor and to enter it by night accordingly, conſidering that this Frigate might now be gained, and *Pezoros* houſe attempted hereafter notwithſtanding.

But when we were come to the mouth of the Harbor, we heard the report of two Chambers, and farther off about a league within the Bay, two other as it were anſwering them: Whereby our *Genowaiſe* Pilot coniectured that wee were diſcouered: for he aſſured vs, that this order had beene taken, ſince his laſt being there, by reaſon of the aduertiſement & charge, which the Gouernor of *Panama* had ſent vnto all the Coaſt, which euen in their beds lay in great and continuall feare of our Captaine, and therefore by all likelihood, maintained this kinde of watch, at the charge of the rich Gnuffe *Pezoro*, for their ſecuritie.

Thus being defeated of this expectation, we found that it was not Gods will that wee ſhould enter at that time: the rather for that the winde, which had all this time beene Eaſterly, came vp to the Weſtward, and inuited vs to returne againe to our Ship, where on Sheere

Thurſday

Th urſday we met according to appointment with our *Beare*, and found that ſhee had beſtowed her time to more profit then we had done. For ſhee had taken a Fregat in which there were ten men, whome they ſet a ſhoare; great ſtore of *Maiz*, 28. fat Hogs, and 200. Hens. Our Captaine diſcharged this Fregate of her lading, and becauſe ſhe was new, ſtrong, and of a good mould the next day hee tallowed her to make her a man of warre: diſpoſing all our Ordnance and prouiſions that were fit for ſuch vſe in her. For we had heard by the Spaniards laſt taken, that there were two little Gallies built in *Nombre de Dios*, to waft the *Chagro* Fleete to & fro, but were not yet both lanched: wherefore he purpoſed novv to aduenture for that Fleete. And to hearten his compapany he feaſted them that Eaſter-day with great cheere and cheerefulneſſe, ſetting vp his reſt vpon that attempt. *March.* 20.

The next day with the new tallowed Fregate of *Tolou* and his *Beare*, we ſet ſaile towards the *Catiuaas*, where about two dayes after we landed, and ſtayed while noone: at what time ſeeing a ſayle to the Weſtwards, as we deemed making to the Iland: we ſet ſayle and plyed towards him, who deſcrying vs, bare with vs, till he perceiued by our confidence, that we were no Spaniards, and coniectured that we were thoſe Engliſhmen, of whom they had heard long before. And being in great want, and deſired to be relieued by vs, he bare vp vnder our Lee, and in token of amitie, ſhot off his Lee Ordnance which was not vnanſwered. *March.* 21.

Wee vnderſtood that he was *Tetu* a french Captaine of *New-hauen*, a Man of war as we were: deſirous to be releeued by vs. For at our firſt meeting the French Captaine caſt abroad his hands, and prayed our Captaine to helpe him to ſome water, for that he had nothing but, Wine and Cider aboard him, which had brought his men into great ſickneſſe. He had ſought vs euer ſince hee firſt heard of our being vpon the Coaſt, about this fiue weekes. Our Captain ſent one aboard him with ſome releefe for the preſent willing him to follow vs to the next Port, where he ſhould haue both water and victualls. At our comming to anchor he ſent our Captain a caſe of piſtols, and a faire guilt Symeter, (which had beene the late Kings of *France*, whom Monſieur *Mongomery* hurt in the eye, and was giuen him by Monſieur *Stroſſe*) our Captain requited him with a chaine of Gold, and a Tablet which he wore. This Captain reported vnto vs the firſt newes of the Maſſacre at *Paris*, at the King of *Nauarres* Mariage on S. *Bartholomewes* day laſt, of the Admiral of *France* ſlaine in his Chamber, & diuers other murthers: ſo that he thought thoſe Frenchmen the happieſt that were fartheſt from *France*, now no longer *France* but Frenſie, euen as if all *Gaul* were turned into Worme-wood and Gall: *Italian* practiſes hauing ouer-maſtered the French ſimplicitie. He ſhewed what famous and often reports he had heard of our great riches: he deſired to know of our Captain which way hee might compaſſe his voyage alſo, Though we had him in ſome jealouſie and diſtruſt, for all his pretence, becauſe we conſidered more the ſtrength he had, then the good will he might beare vs: yet vpon conſultation among our ſelues, whether it were fit to receiue him or no: we reſolued to take him and 20 of his

men, to ſerue with our Captaine for halfes: in ſuch ſort as we needed not doubt of their forces, being but twentie, nor be hurt by their portions, being no greater then ours: and yet gratifie them in their earneſt ſuite, and ſerue our owne purpoſe, which without more helpe we could very hardly haue atcheiued. Indeed he had ſeauentie men, and we now but thirty one. his Ship was aboue eighty Tun, and our Fregat not paſt twentie, our Pinnace nothing neere ten Tun: yet our Captaine thought this proportionable, in conſideration that not number of men, but qualitie of their judgments and knowledge, were to be the principall actors herein: and the French Ship could doe no ſeruice, nor ſtand in any ſteed to this enterpriſe which we intended, and had agreed vpon long before, both touching the time when it ſhould take beginning, and the place where we ſhould meet, namely at *Rio Franciſco*. Hauing thus agreed with Captaine *Tetu*, we ſent for the *Symerons* as before was decreed: two of them were brought aboard our Ships, to giue the French aſſurance of this agreement. And as ſoone as we could furniſh our ſelues and refreſh the French company, which was within fiue or ſix dayes (by bringing them to the Magazine which was the neereſt, where they were ſupplyed by vs in ſuch ſort, as they proteſted they were beholding to vs for all their liues) taking 20. of the French and fifteene of ours with our *Symerons*, leauing both our Ships in ſafe Roade, we mand our Fregat and two Pinnaces (we had formerly ſunke our *Lyon*, ſhortly after our returne from *Panama*, becauſe we had not men ſufficient to man her) and went towards *Rio Franciſco*, which becauſe it had not water enough for our Fregat, cauſed vs to leaue her at the *Cabezas* mand with Engliſh and French, in the charge of *Robert Doble*, to ſtay there, without attempting any chaſe, vntill the returne of our Pinnaces. And then beare to *Rio*
March. *Franciſco*, where both Captaines landed with ſuch force as aforeſaid, and
13. charged them that had the charge of the Pinnaces, to be there the fourth day next following without any faile. And thus knowing that the cariages went now daily from *Panama* to *Nombre de Dios*, we proceeded in couert through the woods, towards the high way that leadeth betweene them. It is fiue leagues accounted by Sea, betweene *Rio Franciſco* and *Nombre de Dios*, but that way which we marched by land, we found it aboue ſeauen leagues. We marched as in our former iourney to *Panama*, both for order and ſilence, to the great wonder of the French Captaine & Company, who proteſted they knew not by any meanes how to recouer the Pinnaces, if the *Symerons* (to whom what our Captaine commanded was a law, though they little regarded the French, as hauing no truſt in them) ſhould leaue vs: our Captaine aſſured him, there was no cauſe of doubt of them of whom he had had ſuch former tryall. When we were come within an Engliſh mile of the way, we ſtayed all night, refreſhing our ſelues in great ſtilnes in a moſt conuenient place where we heard the Carpenters, being many in number working vpon their Ships, as they vſually doe by reaſon of the great heat of the day in *Nombre de Dios*, & might heare the Moyles comming from *Panama*, by reaſon of the
April. 1. aduantage of the ground. The next morning vpon hearing of that great

number of Bells, the *Symerons* reioyced exceedingly, as though there could not haue befallen them a more ioyfull accident, chiefely hauing beene disappoynted before. Now they all assured vs, we should haue more gold and siluer then al of vs could bear away, as in truth it fell out. For there came three Recoes, one of fifty Moyles, the other two of seauenty each, euery of which caryed 300. pound waight of siluer, which in all amounted to neere thirty Tun. We putting our selues in readinesse, went downe neere the way to heare the Bels, where we stayed not long, but we saw of what mettall they were made, and tooke such hold on the heads of the foremost and hindmost Moyles, that all the rest stayed and lay downe as their maner is. These three Recoes were guarded with fortie fiue Souldiers or there abouts, fifteene to each Reco, which caused some exchange of Bullets and Arrowes for a time, in which conflict the French Captaine was sore wounded with hayle-shot in the belly, and one *Symeron* slaine: but in the end these Souldiers thought it the best way to leaue their Moyles with vs, and to seeke for more helpe abroad: in which meane time we tooke some paine to ease some of the Moyles, which were heauiest loaden of their cariages. And being wearie wee were contented with a few bars and quoits of gold, as we could well cary: burying about fifteen Tun of siluer, partly in the boroughs which the great Landcrabs had made in the earth, and partly vnder old trees which are fallen thereabout, and partly in the sand and grauell of a Riuer, not very deepe of water. Thus when about this businesse we had spent some two houres, and had disposed of all our matters, and were ready to march backe, the very selfe same way that we came, we heard both horse and foote comming as it seemed to the Moyles, for they neuer followed vs, after we were once entred the Woods: where the French Captaine by reason of his wound, not able to trauell farther, stayed, in hope that some rest would recouer him better strength. But after we had marched some two leagues, vpon the French Souldiers complaint, that they missed one of their men also, examination being made whether he were slaine or no: it was found that he had drunke much Wine, and ouerlading himselfe with pillage, and hasting to goe before vs had lost himselfe in the Woods. And as we afterwards knew, he was taken by the Spaniards that euening, and vpon torture, discouered vnto them where we had hidden our Treasure. We continued our march all that and the next day, towards *Rio Francisco*, in hope to meet our Pinnaces, but when we came thither, looking out to Sea, wee saw seuen Spanish Pinnaces, which had beene searching all the Coasts thereabout: whereupon vvee mightily suspected that they had taken or spoiled our Pinnaces, for that our Captaine had giuen so straight charge, that they should repaire to this place this after-noone from the *Cabe-zas* where they rode, whence to our sight, these Spaniards Pinnaces did come. *April.* 2.3.

But the night before, there had fallen very much raine, with much westerly winde, which as it enforced the *Spaniards* to returne home the sooner, by reason of the storme: so it kept our pinnaces, that they could not keepe the appointment, because the wind was contrary, & blewe so strong, that with their

Oares they could all that day get but halfe the way. Notwithstanding, if they had followed our Capt. direction in setting forth ouer-night, while the wind serued, they had ariued at the place appointed with far lesse labor, but with far more danger, because that very day at noone, the *Spanish* Shalops mand out of purpose from *Nombre de Dios*, were come to this place to take our Pinnaces? imagining where we were, after they had heard of our intercepting of the Treasure. Our Captaine seeing the Shallops, feared least hauing taken our Pinnaces, they had compelled our men by torture, to confesse where his Fregat and Ships were. Therefore in this distresse and perplexity, the company misdoubting that all meanes of returne to their Country were cut off, and that their Treasure then serued them to small purpose: our Captaine comforted and encouraged vs all, saying: we should venter no farther then he did, it was no time now to feare: but rather to haste to preuent that which was feared: if the enemy haue preuailed against our Pinnaces, which God forbid, yet they must haue time to search them, time to examine the Mariners; time to execute their resolution after it is determined, before all these times be taken, we may get to our Ships if yee will, though not possibly by land, because of the Hills, Thickets and Riuers, yet by water. Let vs therefore make a Raft with the trees that are heere in readines, as offring themselues being brought downe the Riuer, happily this last storme, and put our selues to Sea, I will be one, who will be the other? *Iohn Smith* offered himselfe, and two Frenchmen that could swim very well, desired they might accompany our Captaine, as did the *Symeron* likewise (who had beene very earnest with our Captaine to haue marched by land though it were 16. dayes journey, and in case the Ships had beene surprised, to haue aboard alwaies with them) especially *Pedro*, who yet was faine to be left behind, because he could not row. The Raft was fitted and fast bound; a Sayle of a Bisket sacke prepared; an Oare was shaped out of a young Tree to serue in steed of a Rudder, to direct their course before the wind. At his departure hee comforted the Company, by promising, that if it pleased God, he should put his foote in safety aboord his Fregat, he would, God willing, by one means or other get them all aboard, in despite of all the *Spaniards* in the Indies. In this maner putting off to the Sea, he sayled some three leagues sitting vp to the waste continually in water, & at euery surge of the waue to the armepits, for the space of sixe houres, vpon this Raft, what with the parching of the Sunne and what with the beating of the salt water, they had all of them their skins much fretted away. At length God gaue them the sight of two Pinnaces turning towards them with much wind, but with far greater joy to him, that could easily conjecture, and did cheerfully declare to those three with him, that they were our Pinnaces, and that all was safe, so that there was no cause of feare. But see, the Pinnaces not seeing this Raft, nor suspecting any such matter, by reason of the wind and night growing on, were forced to run into a couer behind the point, to take succour for that night: which our Captaine seeing, and gathering, because they came not forth againe, that they would Anchor there, put his raft a shore, and ran by land about

bout the point, where he found them, who vpon ſight of him, made as much haſt as they could to take him and his company aboard. For our Captaine, of purpoſe to try what haſte they could and would make in extremity: himſelfe ran in great haſte, and ſo willed the other three with him, as if they had beene chaſed by the Enemy: which they the rather ſuſpected, becauſe they ſaw ſo few with him. And after his comming aboard, when, the demanding, how all his Company did? he anſwered coldly, well: they all doubted, that all went ſcarce well. But he willing to rid all doubts, and fill them with ioy, tooke out of his boſome a Quoit of Gold, thanking God that our voyage was made. And to the Frenchmen he declared, how their Captaine indeed was left behind, ſore wounded and two of his Company with him: but it ſhould be no hinderance to them. That night our Captaine with great paine of his Company, rowed to *Rio Franciſco*: where he tooke the reſt in, and the Treaſure which wee had brought with vs: making ſuch expedition, that by dawning of the day, we ſet ſayle backe againe, to our Fregat, and from thence directly to our ſhips: where aſſoone as we arriued, our Captain deuided by weight, the Gold and ſiluer into two euen portions, between the French, and the Engliſh. *Aprill.* 4.

About a fortnight after, when we had ſet all things in order, and taking out of our Ship all ſuch neceſſaries as we needed for our Fregate, had left and giuen her to the *Spaniards*, whome wee had all this time detayned, we put out of that Harbor, together with the French Ship, riding ſome few dayes among the *Cabezas*. In the meane time our Captaine made a ſecret compoſition with the *Symerons*, that twelue of our men and ſixteene of theirs, ſhould make another voyage, to get intelligence in what caſe the Country ſtood, and if it might be, recouer Monſieur *Tetu* the French Captaine, at leaſt-wiſe to bring away that which was hidden in our former ſurprize and could not then be conueniently caried. *Iohn Oxnam* and *Thomas Sherwell* were put in truſt for this ſeruice, to the great content of the whole Company, who conceiued greateſt hope of them next our captaine, whom by no meanes they would condiſcend to ſuffer to aduenture againe this time yet he himſelfe rowed to ſet them aſhore at *Rio Franiſco*: finding his labour well imployed both otherwiſe, and alſo in ſauing one of thoſe two Frenchmen that had remained willingly to accompany their wounded Captaine. For this Gentleman hauing eſcaped the rage of the *Spaniards*, was now comming towards our Pinnace, where he fell downe on his knees, bleſsing God for the time that euer our Captaine was borne, who now beyond all his hope, was become his deliuerer. He being demanded what was become of his Captaine and other fellow, ſhewed that within halfe an houre after our departure, the *Spaniards* had ouergotten them, and tooke his Captaine and other fellow: he onely eſcaped by flight, hauing caſt away all his carriage, and among the reſt one Box of Iewels, that he might fly the ſwifter from the purſuers: but his fellow tooke it vp and burthened himſelfe ſo ſore, that he could make no ſpeed, as eaſily he might otherwiſe, if he would haue caſt downe his pillage, and laid aſide his couetous mind, as for the ſiluer, which we had hidden thereabout in the earth

and

and the ſands, he thought that it was all gone; for that he thought there had beene neere 2000. Spaniards and Negroes there: to dig and ſearch for it. This report notvvithſtanding, our purpoſe held, and our men vvere ſent to the ſaid place, vvhere they found that the earth, euery vvay a mile diſtant had beene digged and turned vp in euery place of any likelihood, to haue any thing hidden in it. And yet neuertheleſſe, for all that narrovv ſearch, all our mens labour vvas not quite loſt: but ſo conſidered, that the third day after their departure, they all returned ſafe and cheerefull, vvith as much ſiluer as they and all the *Symerons* could find, (*viz.* thirteene bars of ſiluer, and ſome fevv quoits of Gold) vvith vvhich they vvere preſently embarqued vvithout empeachment, repairing vvith no leſſe ſpeed then joy to our Fregat. Novv vvas it high time to thinke of homevvards, hauing ſped our ſelues as vve deſired: and therefore our Captaine concluded to viſit *Rio Grand*, once againe, to ſee if he could meete vvith any ſufficient Ship or Bark, to cary victuall enough to ſerue our turne homevvards, in vvhich vve might in ſafety and ſecurity embarque our ſelues. The French-men hauing formerly gone from vs as ſoone as they had their ſhares at our firſt returne vvith the Treaſure, as being very deſirous to returne home into their Country, and our Captaine as deſirous to diſmiſſe them, as they vvere to be diſmiſſed; for that he foreſavv they could not in their Ship auoid the danger of being taken by the Spaniards, if they ſhould make out any Men of vvar for them, vvhile they lingred on the Coaſt, and hauing alſo beene then againe releeued vvith victuals by vs: Novv at our meeting of them againe, vvere very loath to leaue vs, and therefore accompanied vs very kindly as far vp as S. *Barnards*, and farther vvould, but that they durſt not aduenture ſo great danger, for that vve had intelligence, that the Fleete vvas ready to ſet ſayle for *Spaine*, riding at the entry of *Carthagena*. Thus vve departed from them, paſſing hard by *Carthagena*, in the ſight of all the Fleete, vvith a Flag of Saint *George* in the maine top of our Fregat, vvith ſilke ſtreamers and ancients dovvne to the vvater, ſayling forvvard vvith a large vvind, till vve came vvithin tvvo leagues of the Riuer, being all lovv land, and darke night: vvhere to preuent the ouer-ſhooting of the Riuer in the night, vve lay off & on bearing ſmall ſaile, till that about mid-night the vvind veering to the Eaſtvvard, by tvvo of the clocke in the morning, a Fregat from *Rio Grand* paſſed hard by vs, bearing alſo but ſmall ſayle. We ſaluted them vvith our ſhot and Arrovves, they anſvvered vs vvith Baſes: but vve got aboard them, and tooke ſuch order, that they vvere content againſt their vvils to depart a ſhoare and to leaue vs this Fregat vvhich vvas of tvventy fiue Tun, loaded vvith Maiz, and Hens and Hogs, and ſome Honey in very good time fit for our vſe: for the Honey eſpecially vvas a notable releeuer and preſeruer of our craſed people. The next morning as ſoone as vve ſet thoſe Spaniards a ſhoare on the maine, vve ſet our courſe for the *Cabezas* vvithout any ſtop, vvhither vve came about fiue dayes after. And being at anchor, preſently vve houe out all the Maiz aland, ſauing three Buts which vve kept for our ſtore: and cary ing all our prouiſions a ſhoare, vve

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brought both our Fregats on the *Carine*, and new tallowed them. Here we ſtayed about a ſeauenight, trimming and rigging our Fregats, boarding and ſtowing our prouiſions, tearing abroad & burning our Pinnaces, that the *Symerons* might haue the yron-worke. About a day or two before our departure, our Captaine willed *Pedro* and three of the chiefeſt of the *Symerons* to goe through both his Fregats, to ſee what they liked, promiſing to giue it them whatſoeuer it were, ſo it were not ſo neceſſary as that he could not returne into *England* without it. And for their wiues he would himſelfe ſeeke out ſome ſilks or linnen that might gratifie them: which while he was chooſing out of his Trunckes, the Cymeter which Captaine *Tetu* had giuen to our Captaine, chanced to be taken forth in *Pedroes* ſight, which he ſeing grew ſo much in liking thereof, that he accounted of nothing elſe in reſpect of it, and preferred it before all that could be giuen him: yet imagining, that it was no leſſe eſteemed of our Captaine, durſt not himſelfe open his mouth to craue or commend it: but made one *Francis Tucker* to be his meane to breake his mind, promiſing to giue him a fine quoit of gold, which yet he had in ſtore if he would but moue our Captaine for it; and to our Captaine himſelfe, he would giue foure other great quoits, which he had hidden, intending to haue reſerued them till another voyage. Our Captaine being accordingly moued, by *Francis Tucker*, could haue been content to haue made no ſuch exchange, but yet deſirous to content him, that had deſerued ſo well, he gaue it him with many good words, who receiued it with no little ioy, affirming that if he ſhould giue his wife and children (which he loued dearely) in lieu of it, he could not ſufficiently recompence it, (for he would preſent his King with it, who he knew would make him a great man, euen for this very gifts ſake) yet in gratuity and ſteed of other requitall of this jewell, he deſired our Captaine to accept theſe foure peeces of gold, as a token of his thankfulneſſe to him, and a pawne of his faithfulneſſe during life. Our Captaine receiued it in moſt kind ſort, but tooke it not to his own benefit, but cauſed it to be caſt into the whole aduenture ſaying, if he had not beene ſet forth to that place, hee had not attained ſuch a commoditie, and therfore it was juſt that they which bare part with him of his burthen in ſetting him to Sea, ſhould enjoy the proportion of his benefit whatſoeuer at his returne.

Thus with good loue and liking we tooke our leaue of that people, ſetting ouer to the Ilands of whence the next day after, we ſet ſayle towards *Cape Saint Anthony*, by which we paſt with a large wind: but preſently being to ſtand for *th'Hauana*, we were faine to ply to the windward ſome three or foure dayes: In, which plying we fortuned to take a ſmall Bark, in which were two or three hundred Hides, and one moſt neceſſary thing, which ſtood vs in great ſteed, *viz.* a Pumpe, which we ſet in our Fregat: their Barke, becauſe it was nothing fit for our ſeruice, our Captaine gaue them to cary them home. And ſo returning to Cape S. *Anthony*, and finding there we refreſhed our ſelues, and beſides great ſtore of Turtles egges, found by day in the we tooke 200. and 50. Turtles by night: we powdred and

and dryed ſome of them, which did vs good ſeruice, the reſt continued but a ſmall time. There were at this time, belonging to *Carthagene*, *Nombre de Dios*, *Rio grand*, *Santa Martha*, *Rio de Hacha*, *Venta Cruz*, *Veragua*, *Nicaragua*, the *Hendurас*, *Iamaica &c.* aboue 200 fregats, ſome of 120. Tunnes other but of ten or twelue Tun, but the moſt of thirty or forty Tun, which all had entercourſe betweene *Carthagene* and *Nombre de Dios*, the moſt or which, during our abode in thoſe parts we tooke, and ſome of them twice or thrice each, yet neuer burnt or ſunck any, vnleſſe they were made out Men of war againſt vs, or laid as ſtales to entrap vs. And of al the men taken in theſe ſeuerall veſſels, wee neuer offred any kind of violence to any, after they were once come vnder our power, but either preſently diſmiſſed them in ſafety or keeping them with vs ſome longer time, (as ſome of them wee did) we alwayes Prouided for their ſuſtenance as for our ſelues, and ſecured them from the rage of the *Symerons* againſt them, till at laſt, the danger of their diſcouering where our Ships lay being ouerpaſt, (for which onely cauſe we kept them priſoners) wee ſet them alſo free. Many ſtrange Birds, Beaſts and Fiſhes, beſides Fruits, Trees, Plants, and the like, vvere ſeene and obſerued of vs in this journey, vvhich vvillingly vve pretermit as haſtning to the end of our voyage, vvhich from this Cape of Saint *Anthony*, vve intended to finiſh, by ſayling the direcleſt and ſpeedieſt vvay homevvard, and accordingly, euen beyond our ovvne expectation moſt happily performed, For vvhereas our Captaine had purpoſed to touch at *New-found-land*, and there to haue vvatered, vvhich vvould haue beene ſome let vnto vs, though vve ſtood in great vvant of vvater, yet God Almighty ſo prouided for vs, by giuing vs good ſtore of raine vvater, that vve were ſufficiently furniſhed: and vvithin tvventy three dayes vvee paſt from the Cape of *Florida*, to the Ilesof *Silley*, and ſo arriued at *Plimouth*; on Sunday about Sermon-time, Auguſt the ninth 1573. at vvhat time the newes of our Captaines returne brought vnto his, did ſo ſpeedily paſſe ouer all the Church, and ſurpaſſe their minds, with deſire and delight to ſee him, that very few or none remained with the Preacher, all haſtning to ſee the euidence of Gods loue and bleſſing towards our Gracious Queene and Countrey, by the fruite of our Captaines labour and ſucceſſe.

Soli Deo gloria.

FINIS.

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